

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION IN CHICAGO

TWO previous meetings of the American Historical Association had been held in Chicago. That of 1893 occurred in the summer, in connection with the great World's Fair then in progress, and was much overshadowed by that event, with whose brilliant attractions it was impossible for history to compete. That of December, 1904, opening with a blizzard which figures in the memory of those present so vividly as to obscure remembrance of the fine weather that followed, suffered from the amiable attempt toward "recognizing" various institutions by holding sessions in too many places. In the Chicago December, institutions in which such sessions may be held are separated from one another by bleak miles of wintry air, moving with notorious velocity. The committee charged with the arrangements for the sessions of December, 1914, wisely arranged that, so far as was possible, they should all be held under one roof, that of the Auditorium Hotel. Here there were most ample facilities for the holding of sessions large and small, for committee meetings, and for conversation; apparently there has never been a meeting more notable for social pleasure of members with members. Entertainments on the part of the city were wisely kept, by the committee on arrangements, to a minimum of what was offered—a luncheon on the first day, a reception on the first evening, tendered by the Art Institute of Chicago, a tea by the Chicago College Club, and a smoker by the University Club. The Caxton Club and the Chicago Literary Club threw open their rooms, the Chicago Historical Society its building; the Newberry Library gave a special exhibition of rare Americana drawn from the wonderful collection presented to it by the munificence of Mr. Edward E. Ayer.

The only sessions held outside the walls of the Auditorium Hotel and the Fine Arts Building connected with it were those of the first two evenings, when provision had to be made for larger popular audiences. These sessions were held near by, in Fullerton Hall of the Art Institute of Chicago. On the first, there was an address of welcome by Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman of the local committee of arrangements, followed by the presidential address of Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, president of the Association, which, under the title "American History and American Democracy", we have had the pleasure of printing in our January issue. The exercises were followed by a most agreeable reception, held amid the impressive treasures of Chicago's remarkable art collection. On all these occasions, and throughout the whole meeting, the careful forethought of the local committee of arrangements, of its chairman, and of its secretary, Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University, were everywhere apparent.

With them should be joined, in the grateful recollection of the members, the committee on the programme, and its chairman, Professor James W. Thompson, of the University of Chicago; and first, because of the relative simplicity of the programme. With one exception, made for special reasons, there was no time when more than two sessions or sections were going on simultaneously. Abundance of time, the whole of the second afternoon, was allowed for the annual business meeting, in whose proceedings the lack of time has often bred a rate of speed savoring too much of mechanism. There were sessions or sections devoted to ancient history, to medieval history, to the medieval history of England in particular, to modern English history, to the history of Napoleonic Europe, to the history of the relations between Europe and the Orient, and to American history. There was a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, devoted to Western history, the usual conference of the representatives of historical societies, and the usual conference of archivists; while the second evening session was general in character, assembling several papers having especial attraction for a public audience.

It is of some interest to compare the programme with that of the meeting held ten years ago in the same city. The most noteworthy feature of the earlier occasion was the presence of several noted European historical scholars—Païs and Keutgen and Mil-youkov; the condition of Europe, oppressed by warfare of the most appalling magnitude, put all such visits out of the question in the

present year. The meeting of 1904 was held in conjunction with the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association; the recent meeting was confined to history (though the Political Science Association was meeting in an adjoining hotel), and no other society was present save the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Several papers on that former occasion dealt with European archives; the annual conference of archivists, which in recent years has been so useful, had not then been founded. The conference of state and local historical societies, on the other hand, a gathering which has less completely vindicated its claim to practical importance yet has not been without results, dates its inception from 1904. Practical conferences of teachers were then more in vogue, and three were held on that occasion, for the consideration of the teaching of history in elementary schools, of the doctoral dissertation, and of the teaching of church history respectively. One such conference has usually been maintained in the subsequent meetings, with some useful effects and some threshing of old pedagogical straw; this year there was none.

The attendance upon the meeting was unusually large. The registration was recorded as 400, and has been surpassed in only two cases, that of the New York meeting of 1909, the Association's twenty-fifth anniversary, and that of the Boston meeting of 1912. Naturally, the attendance was chiefly from the Middle West, but not a few came from New York and the East.

The general organization of the programme has already been described, and it may be as well, when considering it in detail, to proceed rather in the natural or chronological order of the papers than in the order in which they were arranged on the programme. First among the papers in ancient history would come, in such an arrangement, one which did not figure in the conference or section of ancient history, but was given separately, as a brief illustrated lecture before the more public audience of the second evening, Professor James H. Breasted's brilliant talk on the Eastern Mediterranean and the Earliest Civilizations in Europe. Beginning with a time when all Europe was in a stage of neolithic barbarism, and when, in the thirtieth century B. C., Egypt was the one thoroughly centralized and highly civilized state bordering on the Mediterranean, he made a selection from among the surviving material evidences which show the existence and character of the cultural influences setting from the Orient toward Europe. In the main, this was achieved by exhibiting a number of architectural sequences of which the earlier members were found in the ancient Orient,

while the later, passing to Europe, furnished fundamental forms to European civilization—the clerestory and the basilica, the Assyrian palace front and the Roman triumphal arch, the Babylonian temple tower and the Christian church spire. The forms of writing, the conceptions and emblems of the state, were marshalled in series with similar ingenuity. With only selected fragments of the evidence, and with long gaps between, it was impossible for the address to be always convincing, but it was always instructive and illuminating.

In the conference proper on ancient history, the first paper read was that of Professor Robert W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary, entitled *Fresh Light upon the History of the Earliest Assyrian Period*. Mr. Wallace E. Caldwell, fellow in Columbia University, discussed the Greek Attitude towards Peace and War. The earlier Greek poets were in general warlike in sympathies and expression. With the beginning of the fifth century this attitude changed. The poets praised the glories and blessings of peace and set forth in telling phrases the horrors of war, particularly the sufferings caused by the loss of the city's finest men. A feeling for humanity and a breadth of view that sympathized with the sufferings on both sides developed during the Peloponnesian War. During the fourth century the economic arguments as to loss through interference with business and the burdens of war taxes were more prominently advanced. At the same time there came more widespread attempts to prevent war through peace conferences and arbitration, which pointed also to a growing community of interests that made peace more necessary. The modernness of the points of view and of the arguments for peace and against war were made particularly evident.

Dr. William D. Gray of Smith College, in a paper on Hadrian and his Reign, put forth the view that the cosmopolitanism of Hadrian has been exaggerated. One of his main purposes was to protect the Greco-Roman civilization of the Roman empire from corrupting influences—particularly from the influences of northern barbarism and of Orientalism—and to give to this civilization a more Roman character. This purpose can be traced in his surrender of Trajan's conquests, in frontier lines designed to exclude barbarian influences, in the military reforms by which he endeavored to restore the Roman character and discipline to the army, in his reforms in Rome and Italy, in his provincial administration, and in his Roman and somewhat anti-Oriental religious policy. But his immediate successors did not adopt his methods, his later suc-

cessors did not share his ideas. As a political innovator Hadrian is perhaps the forerunner of the later empire, but as the defender of a civilization he is one of the last great representatives of classical antiquity.

The paper by Professor William L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin, on the Decline of Ancient Culture, we shall have the pleasure of printing in this journal, at a later time. For the present it may suffice to say that, rejecting for various reasons six explanations currently offered for the decline of the classical civilization—slavery, depopulation, taxation, the drain of the precious metals to India, Christianity, and the entrance of the barbarians into the Roman Empire—he resorted to economic considerations resting on the antithesis between two concurrent systems, not adjusted into harmony by the Romans, that of the industrial city, inherited from the Greeks, and that of the great agricultural estate, inherited from the Hellenistic rulers, and developing into the imperial domain. Decline of industrial freedom, lessened production, reversion to an economy injurious to intellectual vigor and initiative, preceded the decline of ancient culture.

An advanced moment in medieval culture was dealt with in a paper by Professor Edgar H. McNeal of the Ohio State University, on the Feudal Noble and the Church as reflected in the Poems of Chrestien de Troyes. Of the same period was the essay by Professor Frederic Duncalf of the University of Texas, on Some Effects of Environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Europeans, who attempted to found colonies in Syria in the twelfth century, had none of the preparation for such a task that a more advanced civilization might have given. In the most difficult phase of their task, relationship with the Oriental peoples, they were most successful. They learned toleration and appreciation, and even generosity as rulers. Alliances with the Mohammedans furthered friendly relations. If the colonists never obtained any real understanding of Eastern character they gained a practical knowledge of the East, adapting themselves in many ways to their environment, despite constant interference by the less appreciative pilgrims coming afresh from the West. Their great failure is to be found in the type of government that they established in the East, for the Crusades developed individualism to such a degree that the colonies failed to establish a strong, centralized government, although the frontier situation demanded such unity.

Under the title "Roger Bacon, 1214-1914", Professor Earle W. Dow of Michigan presented a commemorative essay, apropos

of the seventh centenary of Bacon's birth. In the light of Bacon's principal writings and of recent studies, he traced his intellectual formation and the main lines of his thinking, and considered the quality of his achievement. Despite the limits to that accomplishment which various students have lately pointed out, the fullness and grasp of Bacon's knowledge, the problems and suggestions he passed to others, and his appreciation of the power of observation and experiment, give him a significant part in the earlier development of modern science. And yet it may be more just to Bacon to regard his effort and achievement as lying primarily in the human field—to enroll him chiefly among those who studied to find solutions for pressing problems in the conduct of human affairs.

To illustrate the use which may be made of the material bearing upon the papal tax on clerical incomes, Professor Lunt of Cornell presented, under the title *Papal Finance and Papal Diplomacy in the Thirteenth Century*, an account of the tax imposed by Gregory X. in 1274 and the opposition to it. The tenth of England, Wales, Ireland, and perhaps Scotland, was to go to Edward I. provided he undertook a crusade. This he announced in 1283 that he could not do. Later he agreed to take the cross, and asked that the tenth be granted to him. The result of the long negotiation which followed was that he received from the pope a grant, though he did not undertake the crusade. The papacy had paid the expenses of collection, and had borne the brunt of the opposition to the tax, while the king had acquired the larger part of the revenue.

In a session devoted to medieval England, four papers were read. We summarize first that of Professor James F. Willard of the University of Colorado, on a Reform of the Exchequer under Edward I. During the first half of that reign, the revenues of the crown were received by two departments of the government, the exchequer of receipt, or lower exchequer, and the wardrobe, the ordinary revenue flowing in general into the lower exchequer and the extraordinary revenue into the wardrobe, which normally received the greater part of the income of the crown. In 1290, under the direction of William de Marchia, the newly appointed treasurer of the exchequer, a revolution was brought about which has hitherto escaped the notice of financial historians. Thereafter the exchequer of receipt was the department of the government into which the greater part of both the ordinary and extraordinary revenue flowed. This revolution laid the foundation for the future importance of the lower exchequer; it was accompanied by the appearance of several new series of financial records.

The second paper of the group, by Miss Bertha H. Putnam of Mount Holyoke College, related to Minimum Wage Laws for Priests after the Black Death, 1346-1381. A large proportion of the stipendiary clergy died during the great plague; the survivors attempted to benefit from the national calamity by obtaining increased salaries, precisely as the laboring classes were endeavoring to secure higher wages. Thereupon the great ecclesiastics framed canons specifying maximum salaries for priests, closely resembling the maximum wage laws for laborers, passed by Parliament. By means of manuscript and printed ecclesiastical sources such as the episcopal registers, Miss Putnam followed out the administrative enforcement of these regulations and the legal problems, such as those relating to conflict of jurisdiction. We print her paper in a later number.

A paper by Professor N. M. Trenholme of Missouri, on Municipal Aspects of the Rising of 1381 in England, attempted to bring out in a definite way the important part played by the towns of southeastern England, especially London, in the great popular uprising. The writer took the position that the agrarian discontent was fomented and developed by dissatisfied and radical townsmen. A second and more important matter was the co-operation of the inhabitants of the towns in the revolt, greatly increasing the popular army which advanced on London. In the case of London itself, it was pointed out how a radical element of the Victuallers' party, then in control of the city government, admitted the mob from outside, and how many of the lower elements of London society joined the rebels. Municipal disorders in outside royal boroughs and in towns under mesne lordship were briefly referred to, and the somewhat negative municipal results of the rising were commented on.

Last in this group of papers was one by Professor James F. Baldwin of Vassar College, on Historic Cases before the King's Council. The records of the council abound in cases which are a reflection of the political and social interests of their time. As an example, the case of *Ughtred v. Musgrave* in 1366 may be taken as a segment of the history of the sheriff—a case in which the council, after a searching examination of specific charges, condemned the influential sheriff of Yorkshire for arresting men without warrant, indictment, or other process of law. It was because of such abuses of power, which were possible through the packing of juries and the procuring of indictments, that the judicial functions of the sheriffs were gradually reduced and given over mainly to the justices of the peace. These materials are valuable not only

for the history of law, but also for the general historian, and even have their uses for the legal reformer.

The paper by Professor Albert H. Lybyer of Illinois, on the Influence of the Rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the Routes of Oriental Trade, showed that, contrary to a view which has often prevailed, the Ottoman Turks did not greatly, if at all on the whole, increase the difficulties of Oriental traffic or make imperative the discovery of the new routes of trade to the East. Indirect evidence is found in the prices of spices in Western Europe, which were not permanently raised before the year 1500. The legend of the Turkish responsibility for the great maritime discoveries—held by Thorold Rogers in opposition to the evidence which his own statistics afford—seems a survival of the belief that the fall of Constantinople was the determining event of modern history. In the latter part of the paper the author reviewed the course of Oriental trade from the time of the great crusades, showing the actual influence exercised upon it by the Turks.

For the period between the medieval and the modern, there was a valuable paper by Mr. A. Edward Harvey of Chicago, on Economic Self-Interest in the German Anti-Clericalism of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The influence of papal exactions is familiar; but other subjects of common complaint were the tithes, feudal dues and services, charges for the sacraments or other religious performances of the priests, and a multitude of "voluntary" offerings urged by the secular clergy as well as by mendicant friars and nuns. Less familiar were the endowments for anniversaries and other services for the dead, the mortgages requiring perpetual annual payments, the burdens of lease-rents, the exemption of the clergy from taxes and tolls and import-duties, and the resulting damage to municipal revenues and to competing merchants and craftsmen. While other motives for anti-clericalism are equally discernible, the economic factor was much more widely operative in the success of Protestantism than historians have heretofore been able or willing to concede.

In a paper entitled "The Turco-Venetian Treaty of 1540" Mr. Theodore F. Jones of the University of New York sketched, largely from letters in Venetian archives, the course of the negotiations between Venice and Turkey from 1538 to 1540. He also showed how the final diplomatic defeat of Venice—which was compelled to surrender her Levantine seaports, and pay a large indemnity to Turkey—was probably due to the treachery of secretaries of the Seigniory, as a result of which the secret instructions of the Vene-

tian envoy were brought, through the agency of the French ambassador, to the knowledge of the Turkish government. He further suggested how, apparently, evidence of this treachery came to light and resulted in the punishment of some of the wrongdoers.

In a session devoted to the history of modern England four papers were read, chiefly relating to the constitutional history of the seventeenth century. Professor Henry R. Shipman of Princeton presented the subject of the House of Commons and Disputed Elections, as an illustration of the development of parliamentary privilege in general. Beginning with a detailed description of the Norfolk election case of 1586, and with allusion to other instances in the last years of Queen Elizabeth, he discussed the doctrine concerning the rights of the Commons laid down by that body in the Fortescue and Goodwin case (1604) and showed the Commons' assertion as to ancient privilege to be without foundation. The Aylesbury election cases in 1704 and that of John Wilkes's re-election in 1770 were used to illustrate the conflicts between the House and the courts. The paper concluded by showing that the underlying cause of the contests was the multiplicity of laws existing together, the law of Parliament and the common law conflicting because the lines between the legislative and the judicial powers of Parliament had not been clearly drawn.

The paper by Professor Edward R. Turner of Michigan, on the Privy Council of 1679, was a discussion of the authorship, purposes, and results of the sudden substitution by Charles II., for the old privy council, of a lesser body of thirty, consisting only partly of the old members. Temple claims the authorship, and probably put the plan into form. The motive was political, King Charles, in dire straits, trying to placate critics by the change but not intending to abandon the practice of holding private meetings of a select and governing few. The results were disappointing. Parliament received the innovation coldly, the friends of royalty felt aggrieved, the procedure soon came to be much the same as before, and the king soon treated the new council with neglect.

In treating the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the Revolution of 1689, Professor Clarence C. Crawford, of the University of Kansas, called attention first to the close relation between the struggle for constitutional restrictions upon the royal prerogative and the establishment of the guarantees of personal liberty. The paper discussed the legal principles involved in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the conditions which were believed to justify the arbitrary power of arresting persons upon suspicion of high

treason and holding them in prison without benefit of bail or trial, and the methods by which that power was exercised. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended at nine different periods between 1689 and 1818. The methods and practices employed in 1689, when the machinery of government was badly deranged by the Revolution, were made the precedent for all subsequent suspensions of the act.

The fourth of the papers in the session for modern English history, that of Professor Herbert C. Bell of Bowdoin College, on British Commercial Policy in the West Indies, 1783-1793, dealt with the regulation by the British government of the trade between the United States and the British West Indies. The scarcity of food and lumber in the West Indies during the Revolutionary War gave additional ground for the assumption that the islands must be permitted to trade freely in raw produce with the United States. But such a departure from the principles of the old commercial system was strongly opposed, particularly by ship-owners and by those who apprehended American competition. Pitt's attempt, in the Shelburne administration, to open the trade to the Americans without restriction, was defeated. Under the Coalition, the wishes of Fox were overborne by the North section of the Cabinet, and the American trade was confined to British ships. Pitt, on becoming prime minister, held a careful investigation, which resulted in the vindication, retention, and permanent adoption of the system established by the Coalition, a system advantageous to both planters and ship-owners.

Two sessions were devoted to the history of Napoleonic Europe, not unreasonably in view of the centenary of 1815, however different the manner in which that centenary is observed in the world at large from what was expected when the programme was first framed. The first of these sessions was devoted to the reading of papers, without discussion—which indeed was the prevailing method in the Chicago sessions; the other was a practical conference. In the former, one paper, that of Professor Guy S. Ford of Minnesota, printed on a later page, related to a subject in Prussian history of the Napoleonic period, Boyen's military law; the other two were of French themes, *An Approach to a Study of Napoleon's Generalship*, by Professor R. M. Johnston of Harvard, and *the Senate of the First Empire*, by Professor Victor Coffin of Wisconsin.

Mr. Johnston declared that a study of Napoleon's generalship should pursue three lines: first, what Napoleon learned of the art of war as it existed in his youth; second, what came from his per-

sonal genius; third, what came from the French Revolution. The stress should be laid, in the first division of the study, on the improvements in artillery which took place between 1763 and 1792: the field pieces were made lighter, muzzle velocities increased, and the use of grape-shot developed. In the second division of the study, the "geometrical bias" of Napoleon's mind and his "psychologico-dramatic sense" are the qualities which seem to differentiate him from other generals. And lastly, the French Revolution had broken down army discipline, had encouraged individual intelligence and initiative. A study of Napoleon's career as a whole shows that he failed to keep pace with the new school of warfare which was developing.

Mr. Coffin, in his study of the imperial Senate, described his subject as of interest rather from the political than the institutional point of view; the tracing of its construction and manipulation throws a flood of light on the whole imperial system. But the decline of the Senate from the position assigned to it by Siéyès to a condition of absorption by the executive, is accompanied by the assignment to it, as a trusty agent, of a constitutional authority beyond even that intended by Siéyès, and of administrative functions of unusual interest. The former was an amplification of the powers indicated by the term *Sénat Conservateur*; the latter were associated with these powers and were operated through the establishment of the *Senatoreries*. In the divisions of the Empire so-named (33 in number) the leading Senators exercised a confidential supervision over all public authorities and activities; the periodical reports that form the record of this supervision constitute an unused and valuable source of information as to the conditions of the period.

In the practical conference, already mentioned, the principal paper was presented by Professor George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University, on Tendencies and Opportunities in Napoleonic Studies. The wealth of contemporary materials and the widespread interest of the French in their great popular movement, the French Revolution, were contrasted with the scantier materials and the lesser interest in the Napoleonic period, while in the other European countries the period of the monarchical struggle against the French Revolution has lacked materials and interest in comparison with the period of the national struggles against Napoleon. The progress of French writings regarding the Napoleonic era, and of writings in other countries, down to 1891, was recounted. Various causes have made the period since 1891 the period of monographs and the

period of most widespread interest in Napoleonic studies. In that year were published the memoirs of Marbot and Talleyrand, and the remarkable monographs of Vandal and Tatistcheff on Napoleon and the Tsar Alexander. The publications in each country since 1891 were then reviewed, with especially full attention to those of France. While military and biographical subjects had been the main interest during the earlier periods, the present period has been marked by increasing attention to diplomatic, religious, economic, administrative, social, and other aspects of the Napoleonic period.

In closing, the speaker referred to the library facilities in the United States for Napoleonic studies, to the varying degrees of attention given to the study of the period in American colleges and universities, and finally to the almost total neglect of the period as a subject for doctoral dissertations, except by Professor Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Lingelbach then discussed some of the most important economic studies of the period written in Europe, and emphasized the opportunities for Napoleonic studies in this country. Professor Ford of Minnesota referred to the German phases of the period, but laid stress on the necessity for avoiding narrow views in its study, and for considering the broader relations and currents of historical development. In a similar spirit Professor Morse Stephens urged the study of the period not as the history of Napoleon, or of France, or of any single nation, but as a complete whole.

Professor Colby's paper on the Early Relations of England and Belgium dealt chiefly with events which fall between 1788 and 1870. The first incident to be considered was the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands in 1789-1790. This subject was approached from the standpoint of English relations with Prussia, as reflecting Pitt's unwillingness that the Belgian seacoast should be held either by a power unfriendly to England or by a power so weak as to invite attack. Reference was also made to the bearing which the Belgian situation had on England's attitude towards Prussian ambitions regarding Danzig and Thorn. The greater part of the paper, however, was concerned with the share which England took in events consequent to the Belgian Revolution of 1830. The negotiations between Palmerston and Talleyrand were considered in some detail, both as affecting the neutralization of Belgium and as related to the desire of the forward party in France to secure a portion of the Belgian soil through rectification of the frontier. The subsequent development of English public opinion regarding Belgium was also touched on, and a concluding statement was made as to the attitude

of Disraeli and Gladstone towards Belgian neutrality, at the outbreak of the Franco-German War. With some changes of form, the paper will appear later in this journal.

Last among the papers in European history we may mention two which dealt with Russian affairs. Dr. Robert H. Lord of Harvard treated of the Winning of the Amur, one of the principal achievements of Russian diplomacy and a landmark in the history of Russian expansion. The process of acquisition was begun by General Nicholas Muraviev, who became governor-general in 1847 and at once perceived the vast importance to Russia of the possession of the region. Despite the protests of China and the timidity of St. Petersburg, in a few years Russia was in actual possession, and in 1858, by virtue of the conditions due to the Taiping rebellion and the Anglo-French war with China, Muraviev obtained a treaty confirming the possession. But the Chinese government repudiated the treaty, and it became the task of General Nicholas Ignatiev, who was sent to China in the spring of 1859, to obtain a definitive ratification of the cession. During some months Ignatiev was unsuccessful; then, the Anglo-French expedition to Peking gave him his opportunity. By insinuating himself into the confidence of the French and British representatives and utilizing the helplessness of the Chinese and working especially upon their fears, he was able practically to formulate the agreement concluded between the Chinese and the allies, and then to obtain for Russia even more than had hitherto been demanded—including acclamations of gratitude from his victims.

The paper by Professor Samuel N. Harper of Chicago, on the "Russian Nationalists", or government party in the Duma, traced the origin of that party back to the official nationalism—"Russia for the Russians"—which existed in autocratic Russia at the end of the nineteenth century, and was itself an outgrowth of Slavophilism. He showed how those representing this variety of opinion, though numerically weak, had been able to acquire power through the reaction against the movements of 1905, and to throw discredit on the non-Russian nationalities of the Empire. He described the legislative restrictions upon Poles, Finns, and other non-Russian elements, which had flowed from this spirit of exclusive nationalism, and the constant protests of the Liberals against it as essentially foreign to the Russian genius.

In American history, one of the most notable papers, surely, was that in which Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard analyzed in various fields the Significance of Sectionalism in American His-

tory. This we hope to have the pleasure of presenting to our readers before long.

A regional matter of much interest was discussed in the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association by Professor Royal B. Way of Northwestern University. His paper on English Relations in the Northwest, 1789-1794, took issue with that on the Western Posts and the British Debts which Professor McLaughlin contributed to the proceedings of 1894. The writer believed that British conduct in that period was more open to criticism. He held that the British officials continually deceived the Indians as to the provisions of the treaty of 1783 in respect to Indian lands in the Ohio valley, persisted in a policy of consolidation of Indian tribes for English advantage, extended their trade and established new posts, blocked peace between the Indians and the United States, and by timely supplies aided the Indian warfare.

Professor Max Farrand of Yale, in a paper entitled "One Hundred Years Ago", read in a session specially devoted to American history, described how, just after the War of 1812, there emerged a growing democracy, first becoming conscious of its power. The European wars and the resulting commercial legislation of the United States led to a national protective tariff system. Population moved rapidly westward, and easier communication between East and West became a necessity. There developed in the Middle West a conscious nationality and a national type, which began to express itself in a national literature. A change in religious thinking, greater tolerance, less attention to theological abstractions, mark the period. The effect of the invention of the cotton gin on slavery is a commonplace; the effect of slavery on cotton growing was just as important. But the greatest force at work in the creation of a nation was the development of an internal commerce, which brought with it a feeling of national completeness.

Dr. Henry B. Learned's account of Cabinet Meetings under Polk was based largely on Polk's *Diary*, which reveals glimpses of nearly four hundred sessions, held twice a week with remarkable regularity. They probably mark the beginnings of a custom of regular meetings now well established. After commenting briefly on the appointments to the Cabinet, the author dwelt on various practices, such as votes in cabinet, the presentation of written opinions, and the question of admitting outsiders to its sessions. He called attention to the evidence of aid rendered by the advisers (and others) in the matter of preparation of the four annual messages; to the Cabinet's attitude toward the quarrel between Trist

and Scott; to the effort to give Benton the highest military command; and to Polk's practice as to accepting the advice of his regular counsellors, or acting independently of it.

Professor St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University, in a paper on Tennessee and National Political Parties, 1850-1860, analyzed the relations of the Whig and Democratic parties in Tennessee in the compromise of 1850 and the secession movement of 1849-1851, and devoted special attention to the Nashville convention of 1850. In 1851 the Whigs carried the state by reason of the rivalry in the democratic organization between Aaron V. Brown and A. O. P. Nicholson, of whom Brown gradually drew toward the more extreme Southern position, while Nicholson upheld the compromise of 1850. But the national organization of the Whigs soon went to pieces, though Scott received the electoral vote of Tennessee. From these Whig victories of 1851 and 1853, Tennessee was redeemed by Andrew Johnson of East Tennessee, a man of very different type from the Middle Tennessee leaders. The paper closed with a rapid survey of the politics of Tennessee to 1860, with Andrew Johnson as the central figure.

In the joint session held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, an interesting feature was a discussion of the origin of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. It was opened by a paper by Professor F. H. Hodder entitled "When the Railroads Came to Chicago". After making a plea for the study of early railroads, the paper traced Stephen A. Douglas's interest in them. In 1836 he made the first move toward the building of railroads in Illinois. In 1845 he proposed a railroad from Chicago to the Pacific. In 1850, by an alliance with the South, he secured the first grant to the states for railroad purposes and at the same time provided a branch road to Chicago. He continuously supported bills to grant land to Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas for the construction of railroads to connect with proposed Pacific railroads and in the same connection proposed the organization of the western territory. It is reasonable to suppose that he organized Kansas and Nebraska in 1854 for the purpose for which he had urged organization since 1845.

Professor P. Orman Ray of Trinity College, Hartford, in replying to Professor Hodder, contended that the Kansas-Nebraska Act originated in western, particularly Missouri, conditions and in so far as it can be ascribed to any one man was due to the influence of Senator Atchison, rather than to that of Douglas. Any theory of the genesis of the act must explain why it was passed in this

particular year, 1854, and why the provision respecting the Missouri Compromise was added. The answer to both these questions is to be found in the history of the schism in the Democratic party in Missouri, which culminated in the senatorial fight of 1853-1854. He ascribed to Professor Hodder's theory a tendency to attach to certain events an importance out of proportion to that felt by contemporaries, an excessive reliance on the pages of the *Congressional Globe*, and the ignoring of some evidence which conflicted with his view.

In the discussion which followed Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University spoke of the fact that other features of the bill had been neglected because of the importance of the repealing section. Mrs. Mathews of the University of Wisconsin expressed the feeling that Professor Ray was emphasizing actual authorship of the bill, Professor Hodder its genesis; agrarian interests played a part also. Professor Sioussat maintained that southern railroad interests likewise had an influence in the history of the bill.

In a valuable and suggestive paper on the Agrarian History of the United States as a Subject for Research, Professor William J. Trimble of the North Dakota Agricultural College took broad ground for the study, not of the technical development of agriculture alone, but of agricultural history in its relation to the whole circle of economic and social history. He laid just emphasis upon its importance. The leading occupation of the American people has been agriculture, yet the history of our agriculture has received little attention. With the rise of scientific agriculture, however, a distinct demand for agrarian history is arising. Agricultural economists in particular insist that such history is indispensable. Questions of agricultural statesmanship, which go to the heart of our country's life, need urgently the light of agrarian history. Yet scarcely more than a beginning has been made. Information is inadequate and often derived from interested sources. A long process of development is needed and the systematic co-operation of many workers. The work can be done only by real historians, having sympathetic understanding of agriculture and rural problems.

It remains to chronicle the conference of historical societies and the conference of archivists. Both of these were marked by real discussion, which had been conspicuously absent from the other sessions of the association.

The former conference was opened with a paper by the chairman, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, on the Chicago Historical Society, its history, its present activities, and its plans for future work. Dr.

Dunbar Rowland, chairman of the conference's committee on the co-operation of historical societies and departments, reported that the work of calendaring the documents in the French archives concerning the history of the Mississippi Valley, a work which had been going on in Paris under the direction of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, was nearly completed, and would have been entirely finished but for the outbreak of war in Europe.

Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University read a paper on Research in State History at State Universities. He held that the state could properly endow and employ its university for the promotion of the study of its history, and favored especially such activities as the collection and publication of materials, the establishment of scholarships, of research fellowships, or of historical commissions of survey to co-operate with the state historical society. Professor Eugene C. Barker of Texas pointed out the important part which the work of the graduate student might have in such endeavors, Professor Orin G. Libby of North Dakota the value they might incidentally have in bringing university men into contact with the larger community. Professor Clarence W. Alvord of Illinois suggested a division of functions between the historical society and the university, whereby the former might devote itself to the publication of materials, the latter of monographs.

A second discussion grew out of a paper by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee of the Ottawa Public Library on Restrictions upon Use of Historical Materials. Those who took part in the discussion were Dr. George N. Fuller of Michigan, Dr. Milo M. Quaife of Wisconsin, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits of the New York Public Library, Professor Alvord of Illinois, and the secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck of the Minnesota Historical Society. The prevailing opinion was in favor of the greatest possible liberality. Dr. Quaife spoke of the inexpediency of lending manuscripts, Mr. Paltsits of the allowable distinctions in treatment, between archival materials and historical papers of private origin.

The conference of archivists, eminently helpful and practical, was attended by about fifty persons. The chairman, Mr. Paltsits, presented a summary report of the Public Archives Commission for 1914. More than two hours were devoted to the consideration of practical problems of archival economy. President Charles H. Rammelkamp of Illinois College, in a paper on Legislation for Archives, dealt with the fundamental laws that are necessary for the archivist and for the preservation of archives, and reviewed legislation enacted in the various states since 1901. A discussion

followed, by Mr. George S. Godard of Connecticut, Professor Harlow Lindley of Indiana, Mr. Ernest W. Winkler of Texas, Mr. James I. Wyer, jr., of New York, Mr. Edgar R. Harlan of Iowa, Mr. Leland, and the chairman. A practical paper, illustrated by diagrams, on the Principles of Classification for Archives, was presented by Miss Ethel B. Virtue, of the Historical Department of Iowa. She upheld the principle of origin, with *respect des fonds*, and demonstrated its application in the classification of the archives of Iowa. This subject was discussed by Mr. Lindley, Mr. Godard, and others, with a virtual unanimity for the system propounded. Mr. Leland spoke informally on Cataloguing of Archives, defining the different kinds of catalogues that should obtain. He distinguished sharply between historical manuscripts and archives, and pointed out that rules for cataloguing the former do not apply to the latter; and also showed the differences between catalogues for official purposes and those for historical purposes, the former varying greatly according to the material, the latter best consisting in a succession of catalogues, beginning with the check-list or *état sommaire*, continuing in the more detailed descriptive catalogue or *inventaire analytique*, and culminating in the calendar.

The annual business meeting, presided over by Professor McLaughlin as president of the Association, began as usual with the report of the secretary, Mr. Leland. He reported a total membership of 2913. The treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen (treasurer from the first day of the Association's existence), reported net disbursements of \$10,481, as against net receipts of \$9,969. The total assets of the Association were \$26,797, a slight loss in comparison with the preceding year. The report of the Executive Council, presented by its new secretary, Professor Evarts B. Greene, included five recommendations, all of which were adopted by the Association. It recommended that the annual meeting of December, 1916, be held in Cincinnati; that of December, 1915, the Association had already voted to hold in Washington. In deference to recent criticism of the Association's machinery and practices, the Council recommended that a committee of nine be appointed "to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the Association, with instructions to report to the annual meeting of 1915", and that a consideration of the relations between the Association and the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW be included in that committee's functions. In response to requests from various organizations of teachers, it recommended that a standing Committee on History in Schools be instituted, to consider questions which have arisen or

may arise in that field, and to replace the present Committee on the Preparation of Teachers of History in Schools. The three-years' grant to the *History Teacher's Magazine* having expired, it recommended that an appropriation of \$400 per annum for two years be made to that journal, conditional upon the raising of an additional guaranty fund of \$600 per annum, the arrangement between the journal and the Association in other respects continuing as adjusted in December, 1911. Finally, the Council recommended, and the Association adopted, the following rule respecting the non-payment of dues:

"The annual dues for the ensuing twelve months are due on September 1. Publications [including the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW] will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the roll of the Association."

The budget for 1915 was also presented. The Council announced the re-election of Professor James H. Robinson as a member of the Board of Editors of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, he being the member whose term of six years expired at the end of the year 1914, and of Professor Carl L. Becker to fill the unexpired term of Professor McLaughlin, who resigned his membership of the Board.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was offered by Professor H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, who outlined the attractive programme he had constructed for the special meeting to be held by the Association on July 21, 22, and 23, 1915, at San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto. Brief reports were presented on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the chairman of which, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, now resigns that position, and on behalf of the Public Archives Commission by its chairman, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits. A report from the Board of Editors of this journal was presented by Professor Edward P. Cheyney; a report from the Advisory Board of the *History Teacher's Magazine* was read. The Committee on Publications, Professor Farrand, chairman, reported especially as to the series of prize essays, independently published, which has nearly reached the point where it can sustain itself, the sales of the first three books having now run up to more than 500 copies each, while those of the last three amount already to considerably more than 300 each. For the committee on bibliography, its chairman, Dr. Ernest C. Richardson, reported marked progress by a sub-committee on the proposed bibliography of American travels, and the adoption by the Library

of Congress of the proposed joint finding-list of sets of historical periodicals in American libraries. Professor Cheyney, for the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, in course of preparation by two committees, British and American, was obliged to report that the war had compelled a suspension of activity on the part of the British committee. Reports were also made by the general editor of the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, by the general committee through its chairman, Professor Frederic L. Paxson, and by the chairman of the committee on the Justin Winsor Prize, Professor Claude H. Van Tyne. The prize was awarded to Miss Mary Wilhelmine Williams, formerly of Stanford University, for an essay entitled "Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1914", which will take its place as the ninth volume in the Association's series, next after that of Miss Barbour on the Earl of Arlington. Informal reports had been made from certain other committees, and the series ended with the report of the committee on nominations, presented in print.¹

Perhaps the reviewing of this impressive array of historical business, for which the Association mainly exists, lent sobriety to the discussion which ensued upon the less essential matters of officers and nominations, organization and methods. Probably, too, the submission to the members, on arrival, of printed minutes of the Council's preparatory meeting of November 28, and the subsequent supplying of similar records of Council action at Chicago, enabled members to feel that all Association matters were duly under their review and control. At all events, the discussion was carried on with the utmost good-nature and without any manifestation of feeling. During the year there had been not a little discussion among members, in print, in letters, and in conversation, as to the extent of the dissatisfaction said to prevail in respect to the existing methods of nomination and management.² It cannot be said that the proceedings at Chicago cast any clear light upon this question.

¹ A few copies of this report, and a few copies of the Council minutes mentioned in the next paragraph, and including an abridgment of the treasurer's report and the budget, can still be obtained from the secretary of the Association.

² Under the title, *The Government of the American Historical Association: a Plea for a Return to the Constitution*, Dr. Dunbar Rowland sent out to the members in December a pamphlet containing letters reprinted from the *Nation*, and charging, under thirteen particulars, an unconstitutional control of the Association by the Council. The charges numbered I., VI., VII., VIII., IX., and XIII. relate to points of constitutional law; as to these, since Dr. Rowland reprints the constitution, each reader can judge for himself whether that document, plus the acquiescence of the Association, has warranted the actions mentioned. But it is worth while to state explicitly, for the benefit of members who do not attend meetings, that what are charged under II., III., V., and XII. have not been actions of the Council, that what is mentioned under IV. was fully authorized by the Association, and that there is no foundation in fact for the charges numbered X. and XI.

To the specific inquiry sent out to members, in the circular from this year's committee on nominations, whether the member thought that a substantial change should be made in the method of nominating officers, it is reported by the committee that only 49 out of 182 replies were in the affirmative. Probably whatever dissatisfaction existed was much reduced by the obvious desire of the Council to place itself at the disposal of the Association. No other attitude is proper, and no other was suggested in the November meeting of the Council, in which the recommendation of a revisionary Committee of Nine was voted unanimously. When that proposal was under consideration by the Association, Dr. Dunbar Rowland made an alternative motion for a committee of thirteen, with powers somewhat more widely stated; but the Council's recommendation was preferred, by a vote of 88 to 31. A committee formed on the spot reported at an adjourned session the next morning the nine names: Messrs. E. D. Adams, Connor, Cox, Dunning, Farrand, McLaughlin, Rhodes, Root, and Sullivan. Mr. McLaughlin has since been chosen chairman; Mr. Rhodes has declined to serve upon the committee.

The reference of so many of the Association's affairs to this new committee ought not to obscure the good work done by the committee of nominations, Professor Charles H. Hull chairman, whose printed report has already been mentioned. To the ordinary functions of such a committee the Charleston meeting had added that of formulating "a plan by which the general opinion of the Association on nominations might be more fully elicited". This difficult task the committee had assailed in a most thorough and thoughtful manner, seeking light from the members of the Association and from the experience of similar bodies. The plan which it proposed was that a nominating committee should be chosen a year in advance, not by the Council but by the business meeting; that it should, perhaps when the September bills go out, invite every member to express his preference as to officers; that the committee's nominations be published in advance, perhaps by printing them in the programme; and that the committee prepare, for distribution to attending members, upon their registering at the meeting, a printed ballot, which, in addition to the committee's nominations, should contain such other names as may be proposed, in writing, to the chairman of the committee, by twenty or more members, and should also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting upon such further nominations as may be individually presented on the floor of the business meeting.

The plan thus proposed was adopted for trial in 1915, and the Association appointed a nominating committee of five, whose names appear in the lists at the end of this article, the chairman being Professor Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard.

The committee for 1914 (Professor Hull's committee) nominated, and the Association by ballot elected, the following officers for the ensuing year: president, H. Morse Stephens; first vice-president, George L. Burr; second vice-president, Worthington C. Ford; secretary, Waldo G. Leland; secretary to the council, Evarts B. Greene; treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen; curator, A. Howard Clark. To the six elective memberships in the Council, they elected John M. Vincent, Frederic Bancroft, and Charles H. Haskins (these three by re-election), Eugene C. Barker, Guy S. Ford, and Ulrich B. Phillips. The committees appointed according to custom by the Council are named in the lists at the conclusion of the present article.

Since the terms in which the Committee of Nine received its mandate include a consideration of possible alterations in the relations between the Association and this journal, it is well to state what those relations now are. The REVIEW was brought into existence by a conference of some thirty or forty interested persons, held in April, 1895. These elected the first Board of Editors, who made with the Macmillan Company the contract under which publication still takes place. An association of guarantors was formed, with guaranties running three years. The first number appeared in October, 1895. The association of guarantors confirmed the election of editors, and arranged for six-year terms, one member to be elected each year. Shortly before the expiration of the three years, the Association, which up to that time had had no connection with the REVIEW, made a subvention to it, upon terms which at the New Haven meeting of December, 1898, were amplified into a formal agreement. At that time the REVIEW had about 800 subscribers who were members of the Association, and about 800 who were not; the number of the latter is now about 260. The terms of the agreement were that the successive numbers of the REVIEW should be sent, at a special rate, to all members of the Association, and that the Executive Council of the Association should elect members of the Board of Editors as their terms expired or as vacancies occurred.

The relations thus defined have continued to subsist ever since. The Association assumed no further responsibilities. The editors are responsible for the finances of the journal, and are the con-

tracting party with its publishers. Legally no doubt they are its owners; but this has no practical importance whatever, for the only conceivable course for them to follow is to administer it as virtual trustees for its readers and subscribers and for the whole historical profession in America, or, if one chooses, for the American Historical Association in so far as that body is the constituted representative of such interests. The writer of these pages, though abundantly conscious of the journal's imperfections, believes that it has been managed with a single eye to the interests of its readers and of the historical profession. If under some different constitution it can serve those interests better, he does not expect to see the Board of Editors resisting the amendment.

J. F. J.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

<i>President,</i>	Professor H. Morse Stephens, Berkeley, Cal.
<i>First Vice-President,</i>	Professor George L. Burr, Ithaca.
<i>Second Vice-President,</i>	Worthington C. Ford, Boston.
<i>Secretary,</i>	Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Clarence W. Bowen of New York (address 1140 Woodward Building, Washington).
<i>Secretary to the Council,</i>	Professor Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.
<i>Curator,</i>	A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

Hon. Andrew D. White, ¹	Professor William M. Sloane, ¹
President James B. Angell, ¹	Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, ¹
Henry Adams, ¹	Professor William A. Dunning, ¹
James Schouler, ¹	Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, ¹
James Ford Rhodes, ¹	Professor John M. Vincent,
Professor John B. McMaster, ¹	Frederic Bancroft,
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, ¹	Professor Charles H. Haskins,
J. Franklin Jameson, ¹	Professor Eugene C. Barker,
Professor George B. Adams, ¹	Professor Guy S. Ford,
Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, ¹	Professor Ulrich B. Phillips.
Professor Frederick J. Turner, ¹	

¹ Ex-presidents.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-first Annual Meeting: Professor Charles D. Hazen, chairman; James F. Baldwin, John S. Bassett, Carl F. Huth, jr., Robert M. Johnston, John H. Latané, Henry B. Learned, Miss Ruth Putnam.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Herbert Putnam, chairman; Frederic Bancroft, Miss Frances G. Davenport, Mrs. John W. Foster, John B. Henderson, David J. Hill, Henry B. Learned, Waldo G. Leland, Miss Ruth Putnam.

Committee on Programme, Special Meeting, San Francisco, July 21-23, 1915: Professor Frederic L. Thompson, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Herbert E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, Arley B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard.

Committee on Nominations: Professor Charles H. McIlwain, Harvard University; Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, University of Wisconsin; Edmond S. Meany, University of Washington; Charles H. Rammelkamp, Illinois College; Alfred H. Stone, Dunleith, Miss.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Professor Edward P. Cheyney, chairman; Carl Becker, George L. Burr, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, chairman; Charles H. Ambler, Herbert E. Bolton, Archer B. Hulbert, William O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Professor Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, chairman; George L. Beer, Isaac J. Cox, Allen Johnson, Everett Kimball.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Professor Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, William R. Shepherd, Paul van Dyke, Albert B. White.

Public Archives Commission: Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Charles M. Andrews, Solon J. Buck, George S. Godard, Thomas M. Owen, Alexander S. Salley, Jr.

Committee on Bibliography: Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Walter Lichtenstein, William W. Rockwell, William A. Slade, Bernard C. Steiner, Frederick J. Teggart.

Committee on Publications: Professor Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) Carl R. Fish, Evarts B. Greene, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M.

Larson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson.

General Committee: Professor William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Annie H. Abel, Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, James M. Callahan, Clarence E. Carter, Carlton H. Hayes, Waldo G. Leland, Robert M. McElroy, William A. Morris, Robert W. Neeser, Edmund S. Noyes, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Eugene M. Violette, Clarence M. Warner.

Committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History: Professor Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.

Committee on History in Schools: Professor William S. Ferguson, Harvard University, chairman; Victoria Adams, Henry E. Bourne, Henry L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Margaret McGill, Robert A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

Conference of Historical Societies: Lyon G. Tyler, chairman; Augustus H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory Board of the History Teacher's Magazine: Professor Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman (re-elected to serve three years); Fred M. Fling, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat, James Sullivan (these four hold over), Anna B. Thompson (elected to serve three years).

Committee on Military and Naval History: Professor Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University, chairman; Captain Arthur L. Conger, Fred M. Fling, Charles O. Paullin, Captain Oliver L. Spaulding.

Committee on the Military History Prize: Captain Arthur L. Conger, Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

Committee of Nine (see p. 523): Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Ephraim D. Adams, Robert D. W. Connor, Isaac J. Cox, William A. Dunning, Max Farrand, Winfred T. Root, James Sullivan, and one member to be elected by the committee.

BOYEN'S MILITARY LAW¹

ON April 18 I wrote the chairman of the programme committee that if it was the plan of this meeting to emphasize events of a century ago, I could think of nothing in 1814 of greater importance than Boyen's Law, establishing universal military service in Prussia. It was an historical judgment without trace of prophetic insight. The terrific events that have intervened, placing us not in memory alone, but in actuality also, back in the world-war conditions of 1814, have not modified that judgment, though they prevented the plans I then had for gathering material,² and made some of the

¹ A paper read in the conference on Napoleonic Europe at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 29, 1914.

² The bibliography of this subject treated against the background of military development in Prussia would be practically a bibliography of the history of Brandenburg-Prussia. The public activity in connection with the centennial of the era of reform and the Wars of Liberation makes the literature of even that brief period too considerable for inclusive reference. The following limited list to which, with other titles, specific reference is made on occasion, gives the essential material aside from histories of Brandenburg-Prussia and of the Prussian army. On the periodization of army organization and the Prussian army between 1640 and 1740 cf. Schmoller, *Umriss und Untersuchungen zur Verfassungs-, Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, etc. (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 247-288 (also in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1877, pp. 248-273). On the Great Elector's army from the same point of view as Schmoller, cf. von Schroetter, *Die Brandenburgisch-Preussische Heeresverfassung unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten* (Leipzig, 1892, in *Schmoller's Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*). On Frederick I. and the army, see von Schroetter in *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, XXIII. 403-467, and Hintze, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze*, vol. I. (Berlin, Deutsche Bucherei, 1908), and his essay on the Hohenzollerns and the nobility in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII. 494-524. On Frederick William I., cf. Lehmann in *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXVII. 254-289, and Hintze, *op. cit.* On Frederick the Great and the army cf. Koser, *König Friedrich der Grosse*, *passim*, esp. I. 538 ff., and von der Goltz, *Rosbach und Jena* (Berlin, 1883). On the subject of the paper and the military reforms of Scharnhorst it is sufficient to name the works without which it could not have been written. Two stand out, Lehmann, *Scharnhorst* (Leipzig, 1886, 1887, 2 vols.) and Meinecke's brilliant two volumes on *Das Leben des Generalfeldmarschalls Hermann von Boyen* (Stuttgart, 1895, 1899). To these should be added von Boyen's *Erinnerungen* (ed. Nippold, Leipzig, 1889-1890, 3 vols.), by all odds the best of the memoir literature of the reform era in Prussia. Unfortunately they break off just before 1814. Historical biographies such as those of Gneisenau by Pertz-Delbrück, Grolmann by Conrady, Stein by Lehmann need only to be mentioned. Cavaignac's *La Formation de la Prusse Contemporaine* (Paris, 1891, 1898, 2 vols.) is an excellent synthetic treatment of the years 1806-1813, but not to be compared in insight or suggestiveness to F. Meinecke's little volume *Das Zeitalter der Deutschen Erhebung, 1795-1815* (Bielefeld, 1906). Further titles relating to the period and the subject of military history may be found in Dahmann-Waitz (eighth ed.), no. 2408 *et seq.* and no.

views I held essential to its proper understanding into the common-places of current misinformation. Nevertheless, I have not changed the subject nor the view expressed last April of its importance.

The subject of military service takes us at once into the heart of the history of Brandenburg-Prussia. As one reads it, the rustle of its pages sounds like the rattle of swords in their scabbards. Its seemingly tortuous course has one straight red line that leads from battle-field to battle-field. Its paragraph headings are the names of wars. Its heroes are embattled soldiers and sovereigns. Its greatest statesman thought in terms of regiments and wrote his politics with blood and iron. Its epochs are but periods of military greatness and decline. In its history, Ascanians give way to Hohenzollerns, crusading Teutonic Knights pass from the stage, but the essential interest in the history of these two German military frontier colonies—*islands in a Slavic ocean*—remains the same, whether separate or united. Situated in the vast sand-strewn plains of North Germany, beyond the Elbe, Brandenburg-Prussia, with no frontiers but the movable ones of marching armies, with no neighbors who were not jealous enemies, was characterized by Mirabeau a century before Treitschke and his school, as a nation whose "chief industry is war", and the motto which best epitomizes the lessons of its history is the war-wise phrase of Frederick the Great, *Toujours en vedette*. What I have here suggested in a paragraph finds its clearest expression not in the works of Prussian historians, but in a single essay by a Frenchman³ who has revealed to Prussians the foundations of their nation's military greatness as Mahan taught the significance of English naval history to Englishmen.

Bound up as the development of the army was with the development of the state in Brandenburg-Prussia, the organization and composition of this army were none the less influenced by the historical changes taking place everywhere in military matters since the Middle Ages. In general four stages may be distinguished. There is first the feudal army whose obligations, in form at least, still obtained in the eighteenth century and whose spirit was not wholly broken in the nineteenth. Then came what may be called the guild army, the professional warriors who recruited their apprentices

12292 et seq. Two recent works to which I have not had access are Kalkoff, *Die Vorgeschichte der Allgemeinen Wehrpflicht in Preussen* (Breslau, 1913) and von der Goltz, *Kriegsgeschichte Deutschlands im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1914).

³ Lavissee, *Études sur l'Histoire de la Prusse* (fourth ed., Paris, 1896), cf. esp. pp. 65 ff. Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, I. 463 ff., follows Lavissee.

where they would and, through their masters the company and regimental officers, contracted their services where they could. From Marignano in 1516 to Breitenstein in 1631 may be said to mark roughly the period of what Bernard Shaw would revive, war by labor union armies. Over against the horrors of the Thirty Years' War conducted by brutalized, denationalized professional soldiers, the student of military history may set two indications of a new epoch—the sectarian nationalism of Gustavus Adolphus's army and the dynastic nationalism of the small standing army preserved at every cost by Frederick William the Great Elector.

What the Great Elector seized upon was the central idea, that the economic and political independence and integrity of his state depended upon an army.⁴ That army could not with his limited resources be wholly a contract army, nor was it politically sound to have an army which might shift its allegiance at any time—which indeed, like modern domestic servants, had no allegiance and no permanent connection with the state. What he secured was permanence of service—fixing the army in its attachment to one land and in its subordination to one commander, the Elector himself. They might be and were recruited, as in the preceding century, by force and fraud from all lands. The native element predominated under the Great Elector *from necessity* as the exhaustion of neighboring lands made them poor recruiting grounds, except among the most degraded classes, but their colonels at least, he appointed and assigned to their regiments, and the soldiers, over and above the terms of their contract with the recruiting officer, owed obedience to the monarch. He alone henceforth, and not cities and estates, was to enlist and pay troops. To pay these troops and maintain them as the instruments of his sovereign will, he must subordinate provincial estates, break up local and municipal autonomy, control and reshape the fiscal system, devise an administrative system and train a bureaucracy, which like the army read its articles of war in the decreed will of the sovereign. The military necessities of the Great Elector's system, as in all the past of the state of Brandenburg-Prussia, put their stamp upon everything else and covered all readjustments, however violent, with the mantle of victory. The battle of Warsaw in 1656 and more distinctly the triumph at Fehrbellin in 1675 justified, as only battles can, the new army and its creator.

With the introduction of the element of the permanent standing army by the Great Elector we pass into the third period in military history since the early Middle Ages, that in which the army has been

⁴ Schmoller, *Umriss und Untersuchungen*, pp. 261 ff.

secularized. It becomes now the property and instrument of the state, in the sense in which the first three Hohenzollern kings and the enlightened despotism of the eighteenth century conceived the state. Its supreme development is the work of Frederick William I., between 1713 and 1740—its supreme test and justification, the work of Frederick II. Nor should the student of military development pass over the years 1688–1713,⁵ years in which the great wars of Louis XIV. so overstrained the old methods of recruiting that the first idea of a broader basis for military service is recognized by Louvois in France, by Frederick I. of Prussia, and by the English, who in the Bill of Rights had attempted to put behind them the idea of a standing army.

The central figure in the work of secularizing the army is Frederick William I. He swept away the last remnants of feudal obligations and stamped out ruthlessly the slight beginnings of a militia system. Nothing but the professional soldier wearing the king's uniform and drilled even under his own command satisfied him. Before the necessities of such a state corporealized in sovereign and army the provincial estates faded to shadows. Army and fiscal administration became but two sides of the shield. Yet the "canton system", limited service, and the first proclamation of the idea of universal military service—epoch-making as they were—founded and developed under Frederick William I. and his son, not a national army, but a magnificent dynastic political instrument whose reflected glories kindled once for all a pride of Prussian citizenship from the Memel to the Rhine. But it was a citizenship without common rights—a service based upon class divisions. The noble had come to have almost exclusive claim upon the officers' positions in the army and the high places in diplomacy. He had been gradually forced into the king's livery⁶ and now his reward was social and economic and political privilege on every hand. His preservation as a class was carefully guarded. In the central and eastern part of the kingdom he ruled as a sovereign over the servile subjects on his domains. They in turn were protected and preserved as a class inasmuch as the burden of filling the ranks of the army to supplement foreign enlistment fell upon them alone. The cities were walled off from the land by the economic and fiscal system and by almost complete exemption from enlistment, in return for bearing the burdens of a taxation system designed chiefly to meet military expenditures. The army, two-thirds of which might be recruited from abroad, from

⁵ Von Schroetter in *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, XXIII. 403–467, also pp. 82 ff.

⁶ Cf. Hintze in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII. 494–524.

deserters, and from prisoners of war, was held in line by a harsh and brutalizing discipline. It was indeed "the proletariat of the eighteenth century". Its relation to the national life is reflected in Frederick's boast that with it he could carry on a war while Prussian merchant and manufacturer went unknowing and undisturbed about his business. The fervor of such an army for the cause in which it was engaged may be judged by the careful regulations against marching it through a wood or camping near one in order to avoid opportunities for desertion.

The twenty years from the death of Frederick the Great to the battle of Jena have never enjoyed the attention of the historians of Prussia.⁷ They probably never will. Yet within the decaying framework of the old was maturing the greatest product of a passing age, the seeds of a new order. Stein in Westphalia and Hardenberg in Franconia were developing as did Turgot in Limousin the principles of a better government and the administrative initiative that could secure it. Behind his desk as a lecturer in the military school, Scharnhorst was training a new school of Prussian militarists. In the ranks of the army, men like Gneisenau, Boyen, and Grolmann were restlessly waiting an opportunity to make the Frederickian army into an organization that would embody the best of the old and something of the new. So many are the voices that advocated change and readjustment that a later age might almost see in the feeble efforts of those two decades a promise of reform without the necessity of a national disaster.⁸ It is a misreading of history. Nothing short of Jena and the shameful days that followed the collapse of the Frederickian military system could have chastened the spirit of class and provincial interest in the old Prussia or wrung from the hesitating Frederick William III. decisions that voiced the Calvinism of Kant's categorical imperative. The new religion of the state preached by the reform party was not that of the eighteenth-century enlightened despots, but the central idea of the Königsberg philosopher, the harmony of humanity in the service of the nation. What the reformers demanded was for Prussia a revaluation of values profounder than any conceived by Nietzsche for the nineteenth century. Nowhere was the fundamental idea more clearly stated than by two members of the military reorganization committee:

⁷ Philippsohn, *Geschichte des Preussischen Staatswesens* (Leipzig, 1880, 1882) stops at 1797 and the best account is now to be found in Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen bis zur Auflösung des Alten Reichs* (Stuttgart, 1899-1911).

⁸ O. Hintze, "Preussische Reformbestrebungen vor 1806" in *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. LXXVI. Also in his *Historische und Politische Aufsätze*, vol. III. Hintze does not fall into the error pointed out above.

If it were possible after a series of privations, after boundless sufferings, to raise ourselves from ruin, who would not sacrifice everything in order to plant the seeds of a new fruit? Who would not gladly die if he might hope that they would spring up with new power and new life? But in only one way is this possible. The nation must be imbued with self-reliance, it must have an opportunity to know itself and to stand by and for itself. Then and then only will it have self-respect and inspire respect in others. To work toward this end is all that we can do. To destroy the old forms, to burst the bonds of prejudice, to bring the new birth, cherish it and see that nothing fetters or hinders its growth—more than this does not lie within the limits of our powers.

These are the words of Scharnhorst, the Hanoverian, after Tilsit. Gneisenau, the Saxon, voices the same sentiment in phrases that sound a note not heard from the officers of the great Frederick:

One cause in particular has raised France to this pitch of greatness; the revolution has awakened all powers and given each power a suitable field of activity. What infinite possibilities sleep in the womb of the nation undeveloped and unused! In the breast of thousands and thousands of men dwells a mighty genius whose soaring pinions are fettered by his surroundings. Why do not the reigning dynasties (*Höfe*) adopt the surest and simple means of opening a career to genius, of encouraging talents and virtues wherever they may be found in whatever class or rank? Why do they not adopt this means to increase their strength a thousandfold and open to the ordinary citizen the gates of triumph through which the noble alone may now pass? The new age needs more than old names, old titles and old parchments—it needs new deeds and fresh power! . . .⁹

Prepared by its past, compelled by the necessities of its present, and impressed by the lessons of the success of the revolutionary movements, Prussia was ready to enter upon the fourth stage in the composition and development of its army—the establishment of a national army.

In the era of Prussian regeneration between 1806 and 1813 nothing is more important for the history of the nineteenth century than the work of the military commission presided over by Scharnhorst. For him whom many a contemporary called a pedant in uniform the German historians have reserved the predicate of great. Without the authority of an all-powerful minister of war, without the support of a strong sovereign, in a state whose resources and territory were but a fragment of its former strength, amid the opposition of the old order to a theorist, a foreigner, and a radical, under the eyes of a suspicious and watchful enemy, Scharnhorst carried through the great task of rebuilding the Prussian monarchy and state upon the military foundations of the past; foundations, which he widened and deepened so that they were to be no longer dynastic

⁹ Quoted by Lehmann, *Scharnhorst*, II. 15-16.

and feudal, but national and liberal. "Faire une armée c'est presque faire une nation."

The work of Scharnhorst, supported by all the vigor of Stein and assisted by Gneisenau and Grolmann and later by Boyen and Götzen, is familiar to students of Prussian history, but its main features and leading ideas may, indeed must, be recalled here, for Boyen's military law was but the completion of Scharnhorst's work. The singular importance and the soundness of this work are perhaps attested by no other thing so much as its continuation after Scharnhorst was gone.

Among the principal fields of activity on the part of the commission on reorganization appointed on July 27, 1807, there was first the task of punishing those officers who in the field or in fortresses had failed in their duty in 1806. Of the 143 generals in service in 1806 only two had commands in 1813.

Then came the more serious work of reconstruction. The possibility of attaining the rank of officer was opened to all classes having the necessary talent or preparation. The schools for officers were renewed and increased in number. Salaries were to be higher and chances for making money out of the management of the commissariat were cut off.

The common soldier was to be a citizen and treated humanely. Enlistment of foreigners was to cease. The principle of universal military service, written into the reports by Scharnhorst, could not be carried out then,¹⁰ but exemptions which under the "canton system" had risen to include whole classes and areas were much reduced and the *Krümper* system enabled Prussia with an army limited to 42,000 to put 270,000 into the field in 1813.

The new type of officer and the new type of soldier permitted a revision of tactics and strategy in conformity with the practices developed by the revolutionary and Napoleonic armies.

It is not, however, with the details, but with the significance of the military aspect of the regeneration of Prussia that we are here concerned. Place measures of the military reorganization commission side by side with the edict of October 9, 1807, and the unity and the spirit of the age stand revealed. The work of Stein and Scharnhorst is one. They supplement and necessitate each other as parts of a great effort to liberalize and nationalize the Prussian state and army. Could the edict of Stein of October break down class barriers by enabling the nobles to enter business, by allowing the burgher class to buy noble lands, and yet leave an army in which

¹⁰ Cf. especially efforts in 1809 to secure the king's approval. Lehmann in *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXI. 97-109.

the nobles alone had exclusive right to officers' positions? Could the feudal lord as an officer be forbidden to beat the peasantry when in the ranks as soldiers if he were in civil life on his estates still allowed to treat them as serfs subjected to degrading punishments? Could the territorial class element in military service and the restraints on entering trades under the "canton system" be maintained and the freedom of movement from country to city or into other "canton-free" areas and trades be permitted? Could the enlistment of foreigners be abolished and the whole burden of defense thrown on the nation with the short-term service of the *Krümper-system* without, at the same time, doing everything to increase the recruit's intelligence and sense of oneness with the interests of the state he served? If the standing army was to be maintained and the professional military spirit in its best sense preserved in a land unfavored by nature, must not the national resources and the wealth-producing classes be freed from the hampering restrictions and class prejudices of a feudalistic state?¹¹ The answer is evident in view of Prussia's past history. The army could not be remade without remaking the social and political structure upon which the old military régime was based. Citizenship in a national army could not abide side by side with serfdom and class privilege in civil life. If the prophet by the waters of Chebar whose spirit Fichte invoked was to bring together the dead bones of the Prussian state he must breathe into the whole framework the breath of a new life.

The full evidence of the existence of the new spirit came in the Wars of Liberation, when the tide of national feeling swept away the remnants of the opposition, which had hampered Scharnhorst in carrying through his plan for universal military service. He was able to place in the field an army as national as the earlier revolutionary armies of France. It proved its worth against the dynastic, cosmopolitan, and conscript force with which Napoleon had replaced the earlier levies of the Revolution.

The military triumphs of this new Prussian army made the year 1814 exceptionally favorable for fixing in permanence the work which had begun in the era of reform. It was fitting that the framing of such a specifically Prussian piece of legislation as a decree introducing universal military service bears not the name of Stein, the Imperial Knight, nor of Hardenberg or Scharnhorst, the Hanoverians, nor Gneisenau, the Saxon, nor Blücher the Mecklenburger, but of Hermann von Boyen of East Prussia—a product of the Frederickian army who still idealized its creator, a pupil of

¹¹ Lehmann, *Scharnhorst*, II. 87 ff.

Kant and Kraus at Königsberg, an associate and trusted lieutenant of Scharnhorst throughout the era of reform and regeneration—a member of the Tugendbund.¹² A happier choice could not have been made than the appointment on June 3, 1814, of von Boyen as Prussia's first real minister of war, entrusted with the task of securing for Prussia the first of Gneisenau's trilogy—the primacy in military fame.

The work which Boyen now undertook to complete was the work of the era of Stein and Scharnhorst. In the minister Hardenberg he had a sympathetic chief and in Gneisenau, Grolmann, and Natzmer, men of his own selection, able and like-minded coadjutors. The reorganization of the war department and the general staff and the appointment to the pivotal positions of men who had worked with Scharnhorst, brought into the officer corps a breath of initiative and freedom and cleared the way for the fundamental reorganization of the army itself.

Boyen had drafted his main ideas on the new army by the end of July and a memoir prepared by him and Grolmann dated August 24, 1814, embodies the essentials of the new law.¹³ It was a remarkably tactful presentation of the new in the guise of the old, a skillful concealment of the new burdens in the forms of concessions or of already accepted facts. Desirable but untimely features were postponed until the essential points of the standing army and the *Landwehr* were secured by royal approval. The ministry, and it included men who had uttered many misgivings at the calling of the masses to arms in the preceding year, approved the memoir unanimously, without once raising the arguments so frequently heard from the opponents of Scharnhorst's ideas between 1807 and 1810. Boyen had counted and counted rightly that the time for action was while the needs and the deeds of the citizen army of 1813 were fresh in all minds. To the king he could urge the importance of taking a step for national defense before he left to meet his fellow-sovereigns and allies at the Congress of Vienna. The clear and logical plan with its manifold advantages as presented by Boyen gave Frederick William III. no chance to hesitate or postpone for fear of a revolutionary army. The law for universal military service was proclaimed on September 3, 1814.

Boyen's law opens, as did Scharnhorst's draft, with the words of Frederick William I., "Every citizen is bound to defend his

¹² Meinecke, *Boyen*, vol. I., and Boyen's *Erinnerungen*. The first volume of Meinecke's biography represents the highest type of such studies. Cf., e. g., pp. 80–89 for a penetrating analysis of Boyen's relation to Kant's teachings.

¹³ Meinecke, *Boyen*, I., appendix 3, pp. 417 ff.

Fatherland."¹⁴ The obligation rested upon all after the twentieth year. Five years were to be passed in the standing army—three of these in active service and two as reservists on leave. Then came seven years in the first call of the *Landwehr* with the obligation to serve abroad as well as at home, to participate in occasional reviews and drills on set days, and once annually to participate with the regular army in larger manoeuvres. The second summons of the *Landwehr* filled out seven years more with occasional drills, the obligation to do garrison duty in war, and the possibility of service abroad in need. After these nineteen years they were to hold themselves ready for service in the *Landsturm*, which included all between the ages of seventeen and fifty who were in any way able to bear arms. Its uses were purely defensive. The citizens who could show a certain degree of education and could furnish their own arms and uniforms served only one year with the colors and then generally in special troops (*Jäger und Schützen*) followed by two years as reservists and had a prior right to officers' places in the *Landwehr*. The standing army was to form the core of this army, thus preserving in the new national army the best proved product of the old régime.

The historical importance of Boyen's law can escape no thinking mind to-day. The other two military-political crises in Prussian history, the Thirty Years' War and the wars against Louis XIV., had been followed by the reorganization of the Prussian army and state. The Napoleonic period was now closed in the same way. Universal military service and the law which embodied it made a new citizenship and was in a truly Prussian-Hohenzollern sense a constitution which was to knit together the areas called Prussian after 1815. It was such a constitution as might be proclaimed, even by one of the weakest of a dynasty, which had been raised on the shields of warriors in a state whose martial past sanctified military service above ballots and party loyalty. Through it Prussia was prepared to enter on its twofold task of becoming a constitutional state and of unifying Germany. Much of the history of the nineteenth century is occupied with the establishment of nationality. None is more important than that in Germany, made possible by the development of the Prussian army as Scharnhorst and Boyen conceived it. Since 1870 every great power of Europe, except England, has adopted the Prussian universal military service. Such legislations and the

¹⁴ Treitschke, *Geschichte Deutschlands im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, I. 587-594, 724, 735, is the only general account readily available. Source material for the details in *Beihefte zum Militär-Wochenblatt*, October, 1854, and December, 1862.

armies created by it, has then necessarily conditioned every other piece of legislation in every one of these states. It has influenced international policies and finally it has celebrated its greatest triumph by becoming a philosophy of political life.¹⁵

Is it too much for the historian looking back over the century to say that it is the most important statute of the nineteenth century, and that that century began on September 3, 1814? It may be left for future historians to say whether that historical century did not end just a hundred years later when in the first weeks of September, 1914, the German army was rolled back from the heights of the Marne.

GUY STANTON FORD.

¹⁵ For the most extensive argument for the benefits of Prussian universal military service see the article on "Conscription" by Colonel F. N. Maude, the English military critic, in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

ANGLO-FRENCH COMMERCIAL RIVALRY, 1700-1750: THE WESTERN PHASE, I.¹

THE rivalry between England and France is perhaps the most conspicuous feature of eighteenth-century history from 1700 to 1763. The part that commercial competition played in accentuating that rivalry, though readily understood, has received inadequate treatment at the hands of the historians. Much still remains obscure and many important relations still remain untraced, but enough stands clearly before us to render comprehensible the main features of the situation.

In the contest for colonial and commercial control of the New World, which began at the close of the fifteenth century, a movement was ushered in which has no parallel in history until the present day. Portugal and Spain, the first of the European states to enter the field of exploration, were spared the cut-throat rivalry of later times by the papal line of demarcation, and each power became a monopolist in its assigned portion of the world. But the ascendancy of these states was short-lived, owing to the limitations of their colonial interests, for Spain from the beginning and Portugal for a considerable period, though to a lesser degree, acted as gold and silver supplying countries, and pushed their cult of the metals to such an extreme as to become in large part minor competitors in the rivalry of later times. Though each remained a factor to be reckoned with, even after 1700 when the great age of the West Indies began, yet each was already on its decline and its attitude was largely defensive as far as the other powers were concerned.

As compared with the Dutch, the Spaniards and Portuguese were but pawns in the great contest. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Hollanders and Zeelanders were controlling the carrying trade between the Mediterranean and the Baltic and were already encroaching on the coastwise traffic of the Iberian Peninsula. With the turn of the century, during the course of the war with Spain,

¹ This paper, which in briefer form was read before the International Congress of Historical Studies at London in April, 1913, is based in large part on the writings of the eighteenth-century mercantilist pamphleteers, and designedly so. My object has been not so much to discover what the actual conditions were, as to understand what contemporary writers thought they were. Final conclusions on the general subject must await, of course, a thorough investigation of other classes of material, chiefly documentary, in England, France, and America.

to which Portugal was at that time annexed, they pushed their way into the far East, ousting the Portuguese from their seats in the Indies and seizing all Portuguese commerce in those parts. In 1623 they began the attack on the Spanish plate-fleets, obtained control of the most important places held by the Portuguese in Guinea, and, though unable to maintain a hold on the Lower Amazon, succeeded in dispossessing the Portuguese of six of their fourteen coast provinces in Brazil, establishing their capital at Recife (Pernambuco).² With the attainment of unity and independence, the states of the Dutch Republic started on a career of commercial activity that carried their ships into all quarters of the globe, and for a century and a half their vessels came and went as agents of demand and supply, distributing the staples of the world-market and acting as purveyors and middlemen of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. From 1600 to 1675 the Dutch were at the height of their commercial supremacy, and their vessels were in every port searching for opportunities of traffic. The early French colonies in the West Indies depended on the Dutch ships for their very existence,³ and the British colonies as well deemed the Dutch carrying trade essential to their own prosperity.⁴ The Dutch vessels carried fish from the British Seas, tobacco from the American continent, and sugar, tobacco, and other tropical products from the West Indies, and exchanged them for food stuffs and manufactured goods from France, Spain, Portugal, and the Straits, and from the East Countries, Germany, and Brabant.⁵ East and west, north and south, sometimes in ports of their own making, but more often in the ports of colonies founded by other nations, Dutch merchants and traders, sea-captains and masters bartered and sold their ladings for goods or ready money, and returned with well-filled vessels, either directly to other countries or to their own harbors, notably Amsterdam, where the staples of America, Africa, and the Orient were worked up into manufactured articles or increased in value by refining or distilling and then re-exported and sold to their European neighbors. The Dutch never

² Huet, *Memoirs of the Dutch Trade* (transl., 1722); Campbell, *Candid and Impartial Considerations on the Nature of the Sugar Trade* (1763), pp. 14-16; Edmundson, *English Historical Review*, "Dutch Power in Brazil", XI. 231, XIV. 676, "The Dutch in the Amazon", XVIII. 642, XIX. 1.

³ Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, pp. 2, 3, 19-20. John Scott says that before 1652, when the navigation act of 1651 debarred them from the trade, the Dutch, "by the great credit which they had given the planters in Barbadoes, had brought that island to its utmost perfection". "Description of Barbadoes", British Museum, Sloane 3662, ff. 62-50 (reversed).

⁴ Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*, pp. 356-358.

⁵ *A Collection of Advertisements, Advices, and Directions relating to the Royal Fishery within the British Seas* (1695), pp. 22-23.

became effective colonists because the trade motive was always uppermost in their minds, but they won their great success by adhering to "the simple and plain maxim that those who can sell the best commodity cheapest will always command the market".⁶ In an era of colonial beginnings the Dutch were as indispensable to the world's progress as are the great distributing agents of the present day.

England and France, without a merchant marine at this stage of their maritime development, viewed with alarm the maritime ascendancy of the Dutch and saw with indignation the mastery that the latter had obtained over the commercial concerns of their colonies. But before 1650 neither country had attained that condition of internal peace which rendered successful competition possible. They could do little with a people whose business organization was so complete and whose trading instinct was so highly developed that it could underbid competitors both in prices and in freight-rates, and could meet the demands of its customers in the variety and abundance of the goods offered better than any other nation in the world. Competition with the Dutch was bound to result in failure. A matching of wits in the field of business enterprise and shrewdness was a game that neither French nor English merchants were prepared to engage in with any hope of success. Whenever they tried it the results were inglorious, as in the case of the whale fishery, from which the whalers of England and New England were never able to drive their Dutch rivals,⁷ and of the herring fishery, "the greatest trade and the best gold mine belonging to the United Provinces",⁸ in which the Dutch were supreme well on into the eighteenth century, despite long and searching inquiry on England's part into the causes of their superiority, and frequent attempts to emulate their methods and policy.⁹ There was no chance of success in open

⁶ Campbell, *Candid and Impartial Consideration*, p. 19. See Decker, *An Essay, on the Causes of the Decline of the Foreign Trade* (second ed., 1750), pp. 18, 104, and Sir William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (eighth ed., 1747).

⁷ On the whale fishery see Otis Little, *The State of the Trade of the Northern Colonies Considered* (1748), p. 17. Sir Francis Brewster, writing in 1702, said, "The Dutch and Hamburgers, not to name the French, Employ near Twenty Thousand Men in the Greenland-fishing, and we not One." *New Essays on Trade* (1702), p. 6.

⁸ This sentence is taken from a proclamation of the States General, dated July 19, 1624.

⁹ In 1663 the Council of Trade considered at one of its meetings how best to gain and improve the fishery trade, and in the course of the debate made a careful inquiry into the reasons for the success of the Dutch. Andrews, *Committees, Commissions, and Councils*, pp. 82-84. Contemporary pamphlet literature contains frequent reference to Dutch methods and success. See, for example, William de Britaine, *The Dutch Usurpation* (1672), pp. 30-31; Petyt, *Britania*

rivalry, for in a trade free to all nations, the Dutch were able to hold their own before the world.

Hence the only alternative was deliberate war. The Dutch must be driven from the field by force. Partly as a cause and partly as a consequence of this necessity, there were gradually shaped in the minds of those engaged in the economic upbuilding of the maritime states of the period certain ideas regarding the utility of colonies, never very well defined, but based on the principle that outlying possessions were of value only as far as their resources reinforced the strength of the mother state and aided in the promotion of her material welfare.¹⁰ Experience soon tended to crystallize these ideas and to bring into prominence three commercial factors: the mother-country; the colonies with their tropical products; and certain supplemental areas of supply, such as Africa with its slaves and the temperate zone colonies with their provisions, live stock, and lumber, all of which were essential to the prosperity of the parent state, in furnishing the resources needed to meet the inevitable conflict with other European powers. The conflict was inevitable because to the mercantilist the ascendancy of one state was gained at the ex-

Languens (1680), pp. 167-168; Withers, *The Dutch better Friends than the French* (1713), which contains answers to nine charges against the Dutch as rivals in trade; and Wood, *Survey of Trade* (1718), pp. 100-101. The fullest contemporary survey of English and Dutch rivalry in the fishery is *A Collection of Advertisements, Advices, and Directions* (1695), which endeavors to show why the English fishery was unprofitable and the Dutch successful. For the general subject see Elder, *The Royal Fishery Company of the Seventeenth Century*. A frequent topic of discussion in English naval and fishery circles was the Dutch encroachment on the British sovereignty of the seas and their supplanting "by artifice the trade and traffic of the king's subjects". Arguments were constantly presented to prove "the King's exclusive propriety of dominion in the seas coasting on his Kingdom both as to passage and fishing therein". Tanner, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys, I., Sea Manuscripts*, pp. 58-59. Fuller, *The Sovereignty of the Sea* (1911), presents in an admirable and authoritative manner an exposition of this subject. He shows that the claim was a doctrine of the Stuarts, "introduced from Scotland to England with that dynasty, and terminating with it", and that it was aimed particularly against the Dutch. The boundaries of the British Seas are given on pages 521-522 of his work.

¹⁰ Campbell, writing of the islands ceded by the treaty of 1763, in his *Candid and Impartial Considerations*, pp. 203-204, states the case as follows: "To explain the true value, and to ascertain the real importance of those islands, that are now become ours. This can be only done, by contemplating them in different lights, that is, in those several and separate points of view, from which they may every one of them become more or less, immediately or remotely, directly or indirectly, assisting to the interests, increasing the power, augmenting the commerce, extending the navigation, and thereby promoting the welfare of Great Britain; or, in other words, conducing to the industry, the independency, and the happiness, of their fellow citizens and fellow subjects, who are the inhabitants of this their Mother Country. These are the great ends, these the ultimate design of Colonies."

pense of the others, either by an enlargement of the sources of the wealth of the state or by the destruction of the sources of a rival's wealth. Trade and conquest went together.¹¹ As in the seventeenth century the English and French were the chief colonizing powers, their success could be won only by driving the Dutch from the established position which the latter had won as traffickers in the world's market.

England was the first to begin the attack. As early as 1621, an order in Council forbade the colonists of Virginia to permit strangers to trade with them and required them to ship their tobacco directly to England. This order was repeated several times between 1621 and 1634. Then came the navigation act of 1651, prohibiting every nation to bring into England any goods or merchandise but what were of their own growth or manufacture; three wars between 1652 and 1674; the wider navigation acts of 1660, 1663, and 1672; the seizure of New Netherland in America in 1664; the various struggles for control in the East and along the Guinea Coast, all of which show that England and Holland were engaged in a bitter commercial war,

¹¹ This idea underlay at all times the reasoning of the mercantilist pamphleteers. Citations from five of them will suffice:

"We should consider, that our Navigation can neither be kept or enlarged by the same Methods it had its former growth; we had then no Competitors, but we have now so many and powerful, that we may reasonably fear a time when our Navigation must be managed, as the Jews Built the Walls of Jerusalem, one hand in the Work, and the other to hold a Weapon." Brewster, *New Essays on Trade* (1702), preface.

"Let us learn to consider our Sugar Colonies as engaged in a mortal combat with those of Foreign Nations, in which either they or we, according to all human probability, must fall." *Caribbeana* (1741), I. 195.

"Ruining the trade of our adversaries and thereby raising our own." *The State of the Nation Considered* (1747), p. 10.

"As every state in Europe seems desirous of increasing its Trade, and the Acquisition of Wealth enlarges the Means of power, it is necessary, in order to preserve an Equality with them, that this Kingdom extends its Commerce in proportion; but to acquire a Superiority, due Encouragement ought to be given to such of its Branches, as will most effectually enrich its Inhabitants. As trade enables the Subject to support the Administration of Government, the lessening or destroying that of a Rival, has the same effect, as if this Kingdom had enlarged the Sources of its own Wealth; it is evident from hence, that it is not sufficient to support the Credit of a Country with its Neighbours, that its Commerce be enlarged only, unless its Increase be proportionate to theirs. But, as an Ascendency is to be gained by checking the Growth of theirs, as well as by the Increase of our own, whenever one of these happens to be the Consequence of the other to this Nation, its Figure and Reputation will rise to a greater Height than ever." Otis Little, *The State of the Trade of the Northern Colonies Considered* (1748), pp. 8-9.

The French now endeavor "to obstruct the English Commerce in all Parts of the World, as by that means they will not only increase their own Power and Influence, but in proportion weaken ours". *Wisdom and Policy of the French* (1755), p. 125.

and that England was endeavoring to break the commercial net that the Dutch had woven about her and her colonies. France began the attack with the rise of Colbert. Cayenne was captured in 1664. A high protective tariff of the same year was continued by new duties imposed on foreign manufactures in 1667. These duties, which were abolished in 1668 owing to Dutch retaliation but re-established after Colbert's death in 1683, led to trade quarrels which preceded and in large part caused the wars between France and Holland at the end of the century. During this period decrees were issued forbidding the governors of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and other French West India islands, to receive and trade with the Dutch vessels, and a new West India Company was granted its monopoly for the express purpose of undermining the Dutch trade. Constant iteration of commands to colonial governors, the conviction and punishment of offenders, and successful efforts to drive out foreigners found cruising in the waters of the French West Indies had their effect and Dutch trade decreased.¹² The French merchant marine grew in size and strength. The founding of the Senegal Company in 1672 ended in the capture from the Dutch of the island of Goree and of Arguin five years later, and led to the establishment of French control over the African trade from Cape Blanco to the Gambia River. Similarly the incorporation of the English Royal African Company in 1672 and the royal confirmation of its monopoly from Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope added a fourth to the competitors for the African trade,¹³ and was followed by many years of rival trading in West Africa, in which Dutch, English, French, and Portuguese all had a part. Already had the Portuguese, freed at last from the domination of Spain in 1640, recovered control of their possessions in Brazil, and this loss to the Dutch was only in part met by the English restoration of Surinam in the treaty of Breda of 1667.

But the Dutch fought hard for the retention of their monopoly. In this effort they were aided by the French and English colonies themselves, which having experienced the advantages of an open market submitted unwillingly to the enforcement of laws that

¹² Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, chs. VIII. and IX.; *An Inquiry into the Revenue, Credit and Commerce of France* (1742), pp. 24-26.

¹³ "Account of the Limits and Trade of the Royal African Company", *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, § 936. This account, undated but belonging to the period between 1672 and 1697, tells us that the slaves obtained by the company were sent to the American plantations, "which cannot subsist without them", but that all other commodities were carried to England. This statement is an early recognition of the importance of Africa as a supplemental area of supply for the tropical British Colonies.

seemed to sacrifice their prosperity to that of the mother-country.¹⁴ Both in Guadeloupe and in Martinique, the planters were unfriendly and even hostile to the French West India Company, because it failed to meet their needs as the Dutch had done and in its business dealings was much less efficient than the Dutch had been.¹⁵ In Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands the British navigation acts aroused strong opposition, and in Barbadoes, at least, the complaint was heard that the English merchant was less liberal than the Dutch, and the Royal African Company less satisfactory than the Dutch slave-traders. Even in the seventeenth century the Barbadoes planters insisted that the sugar trade was much burdened by being confined to one market, and in the next century the enumeration of sugar was the subject of constant complaint.¹⁶ Despite the navigation acts and other instruments of commercial warfare, the Dutch were far from despoiled of their traffic. They continued to lead in the whale and herring fisheries in the waters of the North Atlantic and the North Sea; they remained the greatest traders along the Guinea Coast and a thorn in the flesh of the Royal African Company; and after the African trade was thrown open in 1697, they competed successfully with the company and with private British traders through half the eighteenth century.¹⁷ They held important positions in the West Indies and continued to be sugar carriers throughout our colonial period, and they dominated the route to the East and controlled the Spice Islands for many years after the colonies had won their independence. Both Dalby Thomas and Sir Josiah Child speak of the menace of Dutch rivalry, and as late as 1739, Sir Matthew Decker can call the Dutch "our great rivals in trade", referring chiefly to trade with the European continent.¹⁸

¹⁴ Mr. Beer says, "It cannot be questioned that the laws of trade were regarding the economic development of these [the Leeward] islands." *The Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. II., pp. 33, 45.

¹⁵ Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, pp. 90-99, 101-106, 108, 179.

¹⁶ Littleton, in *The Groans of the Plantations* (1689), a very pessimistic and highly exaggerated presentation of the condition of things in Barbadoes, enumerates seven burdens on the sugar trade at that time: the four and a half per cent. export duty, "extorted from us against our wills"; customs duties at home; the act of 1672, preventing export to the other British plantations; the enumeration of 1660; the act of 1663; the monopoly of the negro trade granted to the Royal African Company; and the added duties on sugar imported into England after 1685.

¹⁷ Houston, *Some New and Accurate Observations of the Coast of Guinea* (1725), pp. 18-19; Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West Indies* (1735), pp. 149-186.

¹⁸ Decker, *Essay on the Causes of the Decline of the Foreign Trade* (1744), p. 20. This work, begun in 1739, is full of references to the superiority of the Dutch. Contemporary opinion regarding the effectiveness of the Dutch rivalry can be inferred from the fact that in 1713 John Withers found it necessary to

But the Dutch trade, though strongly entrenched, was gradually broken as far as America and the West Indian colonies were concerned. At the close of the seventeenth century France and England, the greatest states of the European world, after persistent efforts for forty years, had deprived the Dutch of their maritime and commercial supremacy. They now stood face to face, two powers actuated by like commercial and colonizing aims. Neither Portugal, Spain, nor Holland had sought for colonial power in the mercantilist sense of the term, for the discovery of mines early diverted in a measure the attention of the Portuguese, the Spaniards were ambitious for gold and conquest, and the Dutch had few territorial and colonizing designs. France and England were fairly matched rivals, in that their policies were the same, to acquire colonies in the interest of trade, shipping, and manufactures, to exclude the foreigner from the colonial market, and to make the welfare and wealth of the mother state the first and chief object of the efforts of all, colonies and mother-country alike.

The two great antagonists faced each other in five different parts of the world, India, Africa, the West Indies, Canada, and the Mississippi; and as far as the Atlantic Basin was concerned they wrestled and fought for the control of four groups of economic commodities: negroes; sugar, tobacco, indigo, and other tropical and semi-tropical products, among which sugar was by far the most important; fish; furs and naval stores. In each of these particulars the growth of French trade and colonization after 1700 seemed to threaten the supremacy of England, and during the years before 1750 intensified the rivalry of the two powers until that rivalry culminated in armed conflict in the years from 1756 to 1763. The struggle took place in the East as well as the West, but it is to the latter phase that I would direct attention here.

The struggle for the control of the fisheries is as old as the settlement of the colonies, and has in diminished form survived until very recent times. Even in 1670 the English complained that "the French in their seamen and shipping by their fishery do much increase",¹⁹ and a few years later Petyt in *Britannia Languens* could assert that the Iceland fishing was very much decayed and the New-

write a letter "from a Citizen to a Country Gentleman", entitled *The Dutch better Friends than the French*, in which he argued against a prevailing British opinion that the Dutch were "rivals with us in our trade, and undermine us in our commerce; and that if these Froglanders were once crushed, the trade of the world would be our own", pp. 33-34. He endeavored to show that in reality the French were England's great rivals and the Dutch England's friends. See above, note 9.

¹⁹ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, § 362, 1.

foundland fishing and Greenland fishing quite lost, the Dutch having driven the English out of these trades and the French of later years having "struck into a good share of the whole, beating out the English more and more".²⁰ "At this time", says Mr. Beer, "the French were rapidly acquiring an unquestionable superiority. They made more and better cured fish and arrived earlier at the European markets."²¹ The New Englanders resented the various surrenders of Nova Scotia to France as parting with a noble fishery and as an execrable treachery to the best interests of all,²² and they welcomed with high approval the conquest of that country in 1710, as a check to the growing superiority of the French, who before 1700 were threatening to drive the English out of the Continental fish market.²³ In 1731 a well-informed writer, commenting on the Newfoundland fishery, could speak of the French as "our most prejudicial rivals in the fishery of those parts".²⁴

In the minds of the merchants and colonists of the early eighteenth century fish and furs were classed together, with lumber and the mast trade holding a place of scarcely inferior importance. The enumeration of naval stores in 1706 and of beaver and other furs in 1722 was in part an effort to keep those valuable staples out of the hands of the French, and Cadwallader Colden, in his essays on the Indian trade,²⁵ devoted considerable space to a discussion of the relative strength of the English and French in their control over the traffic in furs. As early as 1729 the merchants complained that the French were underselling the English in foreign beaver markets.²⁶ No one saw more clearly the nature of the struggle than did Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, and in his correspondence from 1741 to 1756 we find special stress laid on the economic significance of the contest for Canada. He viewed the capture of Louisburg in 1745 and the projected Canadian expedition of the next year not in terms of conquest but of codfish and peltry, and he deemed the great merit of his own services to the British crown

²⁰ Petyt, *Britania Languens or a Discourse of Trade* (1680), pp. 167-169.

²¹ *The Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. II., pp. 227-228.

²² *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, § 68, 1697-1699, § 82, 1699, §§ 247, 746, VII.

²³ After the Restoration, says Mr. Beer, "the English were entirely driven out of the French market and had difficulty in maintaining themselves in Portugal, Spain, and Italy". *The Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. II., p. 227.

²⁴ *A Short Answer to an Elaborate Pamphlet* (1731), p. 17. Postlethwayt could say in 1750 that the French had a larger number of vessels than the English in the fishery, and were able to supply themselves with what they formerly had from English ships and also parts of Spain and Italy. Their fishery ascendancy covered cod from Newfoundland, herring from the North Sea, and whales from northern waters. *Short State*, pp. 81-end.

²⁵ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V. 726-733.

²⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, VI. 207; cf. vol. III., § 165.

to lie in his having saved the English codfishery more than once from falling into the hands of the French.²⁷ When he urged upon the British government the conquest of Canada, he emphasized its importance as throwing the whole fur-trade into British hands, as breaking up the French fishery settlements in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, and as turning the great profits and advantages of the fishery, with its demand for rum and clothing and its value as a nursery for seamen, over to the subjects of Great Britain.²⁸ He viewed the French encroachments on Maine and New Hampshire as an interference with the mast trade, because from that frontier the royal navy drew its supply of masts and yards, and he looked on the struggle for the Mohawk Valley as a contest for the beaver trade, the diminution of which provoked war with the French in Canada.²⁹ He showed himself a mercantilist when he saw that in the struggle with France the success of England's commercial policy was at stake. Should England drive France from America, he said, "the profits of the whole trade of these colonies will all finally center in her, her navigation will be greatly increased, and the balance of her growing trade with North America will forever be in her favor; and what seems to make these advantages still more valuable is that they weaken the power of France whilst they add to that of Great Britain."³⁰ But Shirley's warnings were not heeded. English eyes were fixed on the tropics and the sugar trade, and Louisburg was given back to France in 1748.³¹ France maintained her leadership in the western fisheries, and both in Canada and the Mississippi Valley, from the Illinois Country to the Gulf, extended the area of her fur-trade, that valuable trade in the skins of the lynx, muskrat, otter, beaver, and other furred denizens of the wilderness, which played so important a part in the colonial activity of the time.

Much more serious from the standpoint of the mercantilist was the rivalry of England and France in Africa and the West Indies, for there lay the traffic in slaves and the seat of the sugar trade.

²⁷ *Correspondence of William Shirley* (ed. Lincoln), I. 162, 163, 243; II. 1-2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 284-285.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 328, 348, 351, 452; II. 45, 59-60, 149, 180, 292-293.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 285.

³¹ The author of *The State of the Nation Considered* (1747), in speaking of the war of 1745-1746, says that the object was "the destruction of the French trade and shipping" and that as the result of the capture of Louisburg the fur-trade was lost to the French "totally on Canada side", there remaining "only their trade to the West Indies and the Mississippi", which, he adds, "we must be guilty of the highest negligence imaginable to suffer them to carry on another summer", pp. 4-5, 36-37. To this writer, who in 1747 criticized the conduct of the war because the "genius of Britain droop't", the surrender of Louisburg must have seemed a terrible mistake.

For the French, the production of sugar centred in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Santo Domingo; for the English, first in Surinam, and then in Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica. Though Barbadoes began with indigo, ginger, cotton, and tobacco, the planters there soon turned their attention to sugar, and even Jamaica, which had at first made promising experiments with cocoa, discouraged by disasters that injured the trees, yielded to the demands of the British housewife and coffee-houses, and made sugar her leading commodity. Before the beginning of the British sugar industry in the West Indies,³² the Portuguese had supplied European countries with sugars from Brazil, but soon after the Restoration England had supplanted the Portuguese and the Dutch and was carrying muscovado in her own ships to the British Isles and the northern British colonies, and re-exporting large quantities to the Continent, particularly to Holland and Hamburg. France, though supplying her own market after 1670, partly because of her system of preferential duties, exported but little until the end of the century.³³ Thus England seemed in a fair way to monopolize the market outside of France.

Complaints against the French began to be heard as early as 1666, due to the increased output of the French colonies and to the virtually prohibitive duty that France had imposed on English sugars in order to shut English exporters out of the French market.³⁴ But the first hint of serious competition came in 1701, when Governor Codrington of the Leeward Islands wrote from Antigua that the French were beginning to tread on England's heels in the sugar trade,³⁵ and he recommended an act of Parliament prohibiting entirely all exports of beef, provisions, and lumber from Ireland

³² The date of the introduction of sugar planting into Barbadoes is uncertain. "About 1626" ("On the Sugar Trade", *Caribbeana*, II. 33) is too early; "After the Restoration" (Campbell, *Candid and Impartial Considerations*, p. 9) is too late. Ligon speaks of sugar as a staple in 1647, and Winthrop, having mentioned only cotton as a staple from Barbadoes in 1643, adds in 1646 sugar, tobacco, and indigo (*Journal*, Original Narratives ed., II. 122, 328). These statements agree with that of Scott ("Description of Barbadoes", Brit. Mus., Sloane 3662). "The sugar cane was brought to Barbadoes first by one Pieter Brower of North Holland from Brazil Anno 1637, but came to no considerable perfection till the year 1645." There seems to be no good reason for doubting the truth of what Scott says, though his reputation for veracity is not high and he wrote his history thirty years after the first date mentioned.

³³ Colbert wrote to Governor de Baas October 10, 1670, "Foreigners no longer bring us sugar. We have begun since six weeks or two months to export it to them." Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, p. 207.

³⁴ France while levying a duty of but four livres on sugar from her own colonies, placed one of thirty-two livres on that from the foreign sugar islands. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, p. 215.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1701, p. 417.

and the northern British colonies to the French islands. Between 1701 and 1725 the advance was so rapid that, according to Joshua Gee, the French were not only supplying France, but were underselling the British in the Continental market, notably at Hamburg, in Flanders, Holland, and Spain, and at the Straits, with Portugal, furnished the Levant with sugar from Brazil.³⁶

As this ominous situation began to dawn upon the British planters, a vigorous discussion arose, in which the pamphleteers endeavored to discover the cause of French success and British failure.³⁷ They ascribed the former to the preponderance of France in Europe since 1672, particularly during the period of absolutism under Louis XIV.; to the more highly organized system of colonial and commercial control whereby the mother-country and the colonies were bound closely together, working in harmony and with despatch;³⁸ and finally to state aid, judiciously furnished, to wise measures concerning trade and navigation, and to a more liberal

³⁶ Gee, *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered* (third ed., 1731), pp. 44-45.

³⁷ Gee, pp. 137-139, 142-144, 150-151. The subject was a matter of constant discussion from this time on. See *The Present State of the British Sugar Colonies Considered* (1731), p. 8 et seq.; *The National Merchant* (1736), pp. 85-107; Postlethwayt, *Great Britain's True System* (1757), pp. 246-268; and especially *The Present State of the British and French Trade to Africa and America considered and compared, with some Propositions in Favour of the Trade of Great Britain* (1745).

³⁸ Frequent reference is made to the French Council of Commerce established by royal decree, June 29, 1700. The council is described in *The Wisdom and Policy of the French* (1755), pp. 38-73; and in Postlethwayt, *Great Britain's True System*, pp. 246-248. The writer of the former pamphlet likens the council to a "piece of clockwork, which by its springs directs the wheels in their motion". He thinks that the plan of it was borrowed from that of the Board of Trade of 1696, but with this difference "that the French have steadily adhered to the rules and institutions of the board", while the English have not done so, "which has been the root and cause of many evils, both as it relates to His Majesty's subjects in America and to the Trade and Commerce of the English Nation". He thinks, further, that French superiority lay not in the greater ability of the French statesmen or in a warmer zeal or greater application to the service of the country, but in "the mutual Relation and Subordination of their Boards" (pp. 129-130). He adds, "if England was to commence a War against France, in support of her Trade and Colonies, what could be hoped from it, unless we first correct the Abuses, which have through time crept into the Offices" (p. 128). The early mercantilists criticized the appointment of the Board of Trade by the crown, and declared that it should have been made dependent on the House of Commons. "Why a Council of Trade was taken out of the Hands of the Parliament, when they were upon it", writes Brewster, "they can best tell that advised it." These men thought that only merchants should be members of the board, on the ground that "none are so proper to advise in Trade, as they that are bred in it". Brewster, *New Essays on Trade* (1702), pp. 55, 63. The French royal council was continued by decrees of June 22, 1722, and May 29, 1730.

policy in respect of customs and drawbacks than prevailed in England.³⁹ Over against these advantages they placed the heavy burdens that lay upon the British sugar planters. Chief among these was the enumeration of sugar, according to which sugar could not be shipped directly to foreign markets, but had first to be unloaded and landed in England, whence after the payment of slight duties it could be exported to the Continent. This roundabout route increased the cost of getting the sugar to market. Other financial disadvantages were the payment of the four and a half per cent. export duty in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, and the heavy and increasing customs duties in England, protests against which began to be heard as early as 1671, when Parliament proposed to lay an additional duty on sugar.⁴⁰ Similarly, the planters were aggrieved at the efforts of the sugar refiners in England to prevent them from refining sugar in the islands, an outcropping of the mercantilist doctrine against manufacturing in the colonies, and as true of France as it was true of England.⁴¹ They complained, furthermore, of the curtailing of the market by the act of 1670, which forbade direct exportation to Ireland,⁴² and they declared that while the French colonies were growing in wealth and prosperity, the British colonies were declining, suffering from an impoverishment of their soil,⁴³ from a high and increasing cost of living, and from

³⁹ Decrees of June, 1698, and April, 1717, regulating the commerce of the French colonies, prohibited direct trade with other colonies; but these decrees were in part rescinded by those of January and October, 1726, permitting the exporting of produce from the French islands to Spain. The decrees of 1726 were frequently quoted in full by English writers and were even read in the House of Commons.

⁴⁰ Petitions of the merchants and sugar refiners induced the House of Lords to amend the bill, and thus gave rise to an interesting constitutional crisis. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, pp. 213-214.

⁴¹ This attempt of the sugar refiners was similar to the efforts made at a later time to restrict the wool, hat, and iron industries in the continental colonies. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, §§ 519, 520. See the *Report* of the American Historical Association, 1892, pp. 36-44. We are told that all sugar for table use in Antigua in 1774 was imported from England at a high price. Probably much the same condition prevailed in all the West India Islands belonging to Great Britain. *Brit. Mus.*, Egerton 2423, pp. 122-123. There is an interesting protest against sugar refining in the West Indies in P. R. O., Treasury 1, bundle 338.

⁴² By act of 1663 Ireland was forbidden to send any of her exports, except servants, horses, victuals, and salt for the New England and Newfoundland fisheries, to any of the colonies. By that of 1670, she was forbidden to receive any of the enumerated commodities by direct export from the colonies. For the effect of these laws upon Ireland see Hutchinson, *The Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered* (1779), pp. 181-183.

⁴³ "Our old islands, by being less mountainous, and almost entirely cleared of wood, are become extremely dry and unseasonable; at the same time that the lands in them, by long and constant planting, have so far lost the spring and

the want of an adequate circulating medium, which involved them in a constant fear of losing what specie they had. The remedies sought were a complete drawback on all re-exportation, repeal of the act of 1672, reduction of duties, direct trade with Ireland, and the privilege of free export to all points south of Cape Finisterre. In addition, some of the complainants demanded a reform of the business methods of the Custom House in London.⁴⁴ But in the eyes of the British merchant the situation became much more serious when it was discovered that the French were increasing their trade with Africa, were drawing their beef, lumber, and provision supply from Ireland and the British colonies on the American continent,

spirit of vegetation, as to stand in need of more rains than they had before. But this reflexion has never been attended to by our planters, who attribute solely to the less frequency of seasonable weather, that deficiency in their crops, which is in a great measure owing to the impoverishment of the soil." *Considerations which may tend to promote the Settlement of our new West-India Colonies* (1764), p. 37. This was not true of Jamaica, where it was computed in 1750 that out of 4,000,000 acres only 430,800 were cleared, and that in consequence the island was capable of great future development. "An Inquiry", etc., Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 30163. When the Ceded Islands were taken over in 1763 provision was made that part of the land should always be wooded to prevent the denudation that had injured the other islands. *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, IV. 583.

⁴⁴ A complete enumeration and examination of all the disadvantages presented by the writers of the period is manifestly impossible here. Dr. F. W. Pitman will soon publish his study of the economic development of the British West Indies during the colonial period, which is based on a thorough search of all the extant manuscript material. The pamphlet and manuscript literature is very extensive, the assertions made are often exaggerated and frequently contradictory, and the subjects involved, such as those relating to impoverishment, the effects of British legislation, and the want of a circulating medium, are complicated and often obscure. The best-known pamphlets are as follows: Gee, *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered* (1729); *The Importance of the Sugar Plantations* (1731); and *A Short Answer to the same* (1731); *The Present State of the British Sugar Colonies* (1731); Ashley, *The Sugar Trade with the Incumbrances thereon, laid open* (1734); *The National Merchant* (1736); Stubb, *Importance of the British Plantations in America* (1731); *Danger of Losing the Trade of the Sugar Colonies*; *The Case of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies* (1732); *The British Merchant* (3 vols.); *The State of the Sugar Trade* (1747); Postlethwayt, *A Short State of the Progress of the French Trade and Navigation* (1756); Coad, *A Letter to the Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations* (1747); Tucker, *A Brief Essay of the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great Britain with regard to Trade* (1749); Postlethwayt, *Great Britain's True System* (1757). One of the best sources of information regarding conditions in Barbadoes is *Caribbeana* (1741, two vols.), covering the period from 1731 to 1740. For Jamaica, there is a valuable manuscript in the British Museum entitled, "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present Scarcity of Money and the Bad Consequence of It to This Island, with some Proposals for a Remedy, wherein the Scheme of a Public Bank is offered" (1750). Many of the representations of the Board of Trade are of the highest importance, and a list of them is printed in the *Report of the American Historical Association for 1913*.

and in their exporting of tropical products were actually, though indirectly, invading the British market itself.

To assure the continued prosperity of their tropical colonies, the most highly valued of all their colonial possessions, both England and France were in need of two supplemental areas of supply. These were, first, a territory from which an ample and uninterrupted store of slaves could be obtained for the cane pieces, the rice fields, and the tobacco plantations of the southern and West Indian colonies, and, second, a fertile agricultural area in the temperate zone, which would provide a sufficient quantity of food and other necessary staples such as semi-tropical and tropical colonies demanded but could not furnish for themselves or obtain from the mother-country. The first of these was Africa,⁴⁵ which as the only source of negroes was the object of intense rivalry among all the maritime powers possessed of tropical and semi-tropical colonies. But, consisting as it did of a long strip of coast, upon which at that time no European state laid claim to property in land, each confining itself to rented ground suitable for factories and houses, it presented to the powers no opportunity for mutually exclusive control. Except as far as grants of monopoly led to acts of aggression and retaliation, the African rivalry took the form of a trade struggle. Quite otherwise was it with the second supplemental factor. France controlled Canada and the Mississippi, while England had her Bread Colonies from New England to Pennsylvania, which were valued by the mercantilist only because they supplied the Sugar Colonies with staples that England herself would be obliged to send when she could, were there no other source from which to obtain them.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Wood speaks of "the Trade to Africa, so very Advantagious to Great Britain, by conducing so much to the Support of our Tobacco Colonies, and Sugar Plantations", *Survey of Trade*, p. 189; and Dinwiddie, collector of customs at Bermuda, says the same, "on the supply of negroes from this [the African] coast, our sugar, tobacco and other plantations depend", C. O., 323: 9, M 24.

⁴⁶ This characteristic attitude of the British merchants toward the northern colonies is well expressed in Wood, *Survey of Trade* (1718). "Without our Southern Plantations, our Northern Colonies can be of no real Advantage to us; since what they are at present, must cease on the Decay or Loss of the SUGAR ISLANDS, from whence their Value to Great Britain chiefly arises, and for want of WHICH they would be otherwise prejudicial Colonies to their Mother Country" (p. 149). New England merchants, such as Gee and Banister, felt called upon constantly to defend New England and the northern colonies generally, before the Board of Trade, and to show the value of these colonies to England. Jeremiah Dummer, Connecticut's agent in England (1710-1730), presented a somewhat unusual view in his memorial of October 13, 1713, to the Board of Trade. "The fishery of New England", he says, "is of more concern because some years the Newfoundland fishery almost wholly fails, and by our last advice from thence there has been a great dearth and scarcity of fish there this season [1713].

Before the French obtained a footing on the African coast, the Portuguese, Dutch, and English had competed for the right to control the trade of the territory, England having seized Cape Coast Castle from Holland during the first Dutch war. With the acquisition of forts on the island of Goree and at Arguin and trading posts on the Senegal, the French began to extend their trading influence and a fourfold rivalry ensued, with the French to the north and the others in more immediate propinquity along the Guinea Coast and toward the Congo. Until 1697 the Royal African Company retained its monopoly, but in that year the trade was thrown open, and with the entrance upon the scene of private traders, among whom were many colonials, notably Rhode Islanders, the competition increased. The French strengthened their hold upon the Gambia trade,⁴⁷ while the Dutch dominated the Guinea Coast. So badly did the company conduct its business that it soon became unable to maintain its forts and garrisons, and in 1730 applied to Parliament for aid. Continued mismanagement and depression led to its dissolution in 1747 and to the establishment of a new corporation, the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, in 1750.⁴⁸ As the company's trade grew worse, the French extended their activi-

And without doubt the more fishery ground we have the greater our treasure is. As to the scale-fish and mackerel, I believe your Lordships will allow that to be of equal importance with the cod, because the Sugar Islands can't subsist without it. Their plantations depend wholly on their negroes, who are supported with this fish; whereas if the planters should for want of this fish feed their negroes with Irish beef, the charge of a plantation would consume the value of it." C. O., 5: 866, V 10.

Professor Callender, who very kindly read the manuscript of this paper in its final form, makes the following comment upon my estimate of the value of the northern British colonies in the British commercial system. "It does not seem to me that you state the case against them as strongly as the opinions expressed by the trade writers, at least of later times, would warrant. Postlethwayt, as I remember, did not scruple to hold that the northern colonies were a positive detriment to Great Britain. They actually rivalled her in the fisheries, reducing her share in them, and so prevented her sea-power from being what it would have been without them. Arthur Young held this position very strongly, in pointing out that the great development of shipping and the great number of seamen in them was not only no advantage to the mother-country but a positive disadvantage. The author of *American Husbandry* held too that their supplying the West Indies with provisions also injured her, since thereby she lost the only permanent regular market for flour and beef in the world, the corn trade of Europe being notoriously irregular, as it was the result of shortage of crops in different countries." What Professor Callender says of the later writers is in a measure true of earlier writers also.

⁴⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, vol. VI., § 271.

⁴⁸ In a memorial sent from Antigua in 1752 to the Board of Trade, the petitioners asserted that "by the failure of the African Company our rivals now have the trade". Oliver, *History of Antigua*, I. cix. For the business side of the trade with Africa, see W. R. Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, II. 3-35.

ties southward, establishing posts at Gambia, Accra, and Whydah before 1735,⁴⁹ and trafficking within what the British claimed were their rights and privileges, under the very walls of the British forts and factories. They encroached on the company's field of slave supply and disputed with it and the private traders the traffic in gum, which they used in their hat and silk manufactures, and in gold, ivory, beeswax, and dye-woods, to the exclusion of British ships. In 1750 Postlethwayt could complain that the French had been making unjustifiable attempts for many years to raise their trade and navigation in that part of the world on the ruins of the British African trade and to monopolize that branch of commerce, upon which depended the prosperity and well-being of all the British colonies in America.⁵⁰

A more flagrant insult in the eyes of British mercantilists was the growth of a lucrative trade between the British colonies of the temperate zone and the French West Indies, whereby the French islands were supplied with the provisions, lumber, and live stock which they needed for the maintenance of their slave labor and the promotion of their sugar trade. Such intercourse was contrary to the principles on which the British commercial system was founded, in that it involved the sending of French sugars to the northern British colonies and the invasion by France of the British home market. France was weak in having no satisfactory beef and provision colonies of her own. Colbert sought to supply beef from France in order to prevent export from Ireland, and he made strenuous efforts to build up Canada as a provision and lumber supplying colony. But in both respects he failed. French beef was never sufficient in amount, and Canada never became an agricultural colony during the French régime, remaining a land of furs and romance to the end.⁵¹ The cities of France endeavored to meet

⁴⁹ Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea*, pp. 107, 172. In 1730 Dinwiddie, collector of customs at Bermuda, wrote to the Board of Trade, "There is not anything gives the French and Dutch so great an opportunity to rival us in our trade with the Spanish dominions in the West Indies, as the encroachments they are daily making on our settlements on the coast of Africa, whereby the Company, as well as every private trader, are prevented the advantage of that trade as formerly." C. O., 323: 9, M 24. In 1736 a Rhode Island sea-captain wrote from the English fort of Anamaboe on the Guinea Coast, "never was so much Rum on the Coast at one time before, Nor the like of the french shippers—never seen before for no. for the hole Coast is full of them", *Commerce of Rhode Island*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., seventh series, IX. 46.

⁵⁰ *A Short State of the Progress of the French Trade and Navigation (1750)*, pp. 85-86.

⁵¹ Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, pp. 318-325. The Northern Colonies in their defense said that if they were driven out of their trade to the French West Indies, the latter would turn elsewhere. "They have Cape Breton, Canada,

the bread and provision demand as far as they were able: Bordeaux and La Rochelle sent wine, brandy, staves, headings, and hoops; but Rouen seldom furnished provisions, supplying rather notions and assorted commodities, while Marseilles and Toulon confined themselves largely to oil, dried fruit, wines, and various light stuffs.

While thus France was failing to meet the demands of her West Indian colonies on the export side, she proved equally unsatisfactory in meeting their demands on the import side. As the French colonies produced sugar in larger and larger quantities, they accumulated an increasing amount of the by-products of sugar—molasses and rum. But neither of these by-products found extensive sale in France. Molasses was not palatable to the French taste, and the French people would not use it as food, so that the French island planters were compelled to give it to their horses or pigs or to throw it away, while rum was not wanted, because it was too raw a liquor for drinking purposes, and was discouraged because it competed when used with wines and brandies, which ranked high among French staples. Thus an important source of profit was unavailable as far as the French colonial planters were concerned. Therefore, in respect of the unity and co-ordination of the French colonial world, an anomalous condition existed, for which a remedy must be found. The French colonies had to have an adequate supply of slaves, a sufficient store of lumber, horses, and provisions, and a market for all their staples, sugar, molasses, and rum, if their success was to be assured.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

(To be continued.)

and also the Bay of Apalachy, and Mississippi, which the French Government would be glad to improve". *Case of the Northern Colonies*. But their opponents denied that any of these regions could be used as a source of supply. *Observations*, pp. 15, 28.

THE COTTON FACTORAGE SYSTEM OF THE SOUTHERN STATES¹

LIKE many other features of its ante-bellum agricultural economy, the factorage system was not of Southern origin. It had its beginning in the West Indies. It is hardly possible definitely to fix the date of the factor's emergence into the scheme of colonial staple agriculture. He followed the trading companies, merchant adventurers, and similar instruments of colonization. He was an important cog in effecting the transition from the group to the individualistic system of agriculture. He was to the individual planter what the chartered companies had been to the whole body of colonists, or to the colony itself as a distinct entity.

The factor was the home agent of the colonial planter. He was at once his merchant and banker. He bought the goods which the planter had to purchase at home, and sold for him the products returned in exchange. He became an important link in the chain which brought Europe, Africa, and America into commercial association. If an Englishman wished to embark his son in the business of sugar planting in Jamaica or Barbadoes, he could negotiate the entire transaction with a factor in Bristol or London. The latter could purchase the estate, arrange with the African Company for the necessary complement of slaves, supply the needed equipment of machinery, merchandise, and tools, and otherwise outfit the enterprise. He would furthermore engage to finance the venture from start to finish.

The factor's business thus brought him into close and confidential relationships with many classes of people; with those who were or sought to become planters; with those holding grants or patents of colonial lands, and desiring settlers or purchasers therefor; with those engaged in the African trade, whether as dealers in slaves, or as manufacturers of commodities to be sent to Africa for slave-trading purposes; with those who handled the manifold articles used in the plantation colonies; with those who purchased plantation products sent home in payment of the enormous obligations incurred in undertaking and prosecuting such ventures; with the shipping interests engaged in effecting these various exchanges of slaves and goods; with the financial sources which supplied the

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 29, 1914.

reservoirs of capital which were constantly tapped in behalf of the factor's clients.

Knowing something of the intricacies and ramifications, as well as the magnitude of the business, we do not need specific documentary assurance of the standing and influence of the head of such an establishment, long and successfully conducted.

The business was extremely hazardous. The profits sought were correspondingly large. The ultimate fate of the West Indian planter was usually bankruptcy. Even a tropical soil could not forever meet the demands which such a system taxed against it, plus the extravagance and waste which the system engendered. For every planter who made good the not uncommon boast that he would return with an income of ten thousand pounds, there were scores who wore out their lives and wrecked their bodies and minds, and transmitted to their sons the sole legacy of a hopelessly inextinguishable debt.

When the West Indian system had itself all but collapsed of its own dead weight, and was given its finishing blows by the abolition of slavery and the modification of tariffs, the British Parliament came to its relief with a government land loan ostensibly designed to aid the planters. I am willing to advance the opinion that it was the great English factorage houses who really engineered the deal, and who were almost its sole beneficiaries. Of the millions of pounds thus advanced by the government, practically all but a pittance remained in England, for the amortization of ancient debts which otherwise would never have been cancelled.

Like the plantation slavery system, the West Indian factorage system, with various modifications, was transferred to the Southern colonies of America. It seems to have been the very corner-stone of large-scale, staple, slave-labor agriculture. When the Revolution destroyed the business of English factors, their places were taken by enterprising men in the more important Southern commercial towns. Some of these had been exporting agents and correspondents of English houses. Others were attracted to the business by the promise of large returns, and because it was from the first recognized as an eminently respectable and honorable form of employment for capital and brains; and the social prejudice against trade did not obtain against it.

The importance of the Southern factorage system developed with the growth of the cotton industry. Indigo planting disappeared with the destruction of the English bounty system by the Revolution. Tobacco culture was confined to a more or less restricted area, and

did not offer an inviting field for wide-spread and large-scale capitalistic enterprise. Rice, which took the place of indigo in South Carolina, became an important crop and had its own system of development, in which the factor played a considerable part. In Louisiana the sugar factor became as important a part in the commercial system, as he had been in that of the West Indies. But it was in cotton that the factorage system reached its greatest development, became most powerful, and flourished longest. Cotton was a crop ideally adapted to a capitalistic system of agriculture. It grew through a wide range of geographical area. Its non-perishable nature lent itself peculiarly to a system which required the concentration of its product at seaboard, at a time when transportation and warehouse facilities were poor, and rough handling, exposure, and long delays would have destroyed the value of any other agricultural commodity. It is therefore the cotton region which offers the student the largest promise of reward for investigation of the system and its effects and ramifications.

The functions of the Southern factor were the same as those of his English progenitor. But the Southern system had one feature not contained in the English. The business here developed relations between factor and client not possible with the West Indian oversea system. The relations between the cotton factor and planter were of the most intimate and confidential character, as close probably as was ever the case between business associates. The ties between them frequently were life-long, and their relations were of a social and personal as well as business nature. How far this close personal association affected plantation policy, it is not possible to say. But it is certain that the counsel and advice of the factor were frequently reflected in the planter's affairs. It was a relationship which often effected a close union of business interests and political, social, and economic policies between a large and dominantly influential body throughout the cotton-producing South, and the men who were the leading and dominant figures in the business and financial life of Southern cities. It also raised to the *n*th power the definite and tangible value of the moral hazard in business. It is not too much to say that the great factorage houses of the South looked quite as much to the character of a customer as to the securities he had to offer. Millions of dollars have been advanced by Southern factors upon the mere personal word of the planter, with no formal security at all, and with only a memorandum to witness the amounts involved. A unique basis of agricultural credit was established, which must be taken into account in interpreting such documentary evidence as

plantation and slave mortgages and other securities of record. Another manifestation of the personal equation was in the opportunities offered by the factorage system to men of little or no capital, usually of the overseer class, to embark in business for themselves. An overseer identified with the successful management of a plantation estate was often as well known to his employer's factor by reputation as the planter himself was personally. Such a one, who possessed the necessary initiative, had little difficulty in establishing a factorage connection on his own account. Many of the largest and most successful planters of the South were men who got their start in this way.

It is not to be supposed that there were no cases of conflicts of interest and of opposing policies between the planter and the factor classes. The business was of too great magnitude and its ramifications far too extensive for this not to have occurred. As in the case of the earlier English factors, it was a business of considerable hazard and it had to carry a corresponding burden. It has always been the misfortune of large-scale staple plantation enterprises—that is, those requiring large capital and a heavy labor equipment—that the vicissitudes to which they were subject tintured them with something of both the nature and the spirit of games of chance. With the planter it has always been either a feast or a famine. In the very nature of things this chance had in some measure to be shared by the factor, and naturally the system developed a scale of charges which were correspondingly high. I do not know that there was much complaint at these charges. They were accepted as the price to be paid for a necessary accommodation. But when, as was often the case, a few years of adversity found the planter struggling under a burden of debt which was steadily increasing, it was natural that he should sometimes give utterance to the feeling that “in the fell clutch of circumstance” he was hopelessly harnessed to the factor's plow. On the other hand there were enough instances of abuse of confidence and credit on the planter's part; of the reckless squandering at Northern resorts and on European travel of funds furnished for purely business purposes; of neglect of their common interests, with resulting heavy losses to both, to make the factor feel that though his profits were many times greater than they were supposed to be, they would still be insufficient to balance the risks he ran. It was by no means a one-sided game.

We have seen that the factor furnished the planter with funds; that he acted as a commission merchant in the purchase of plantation supplies, and that he discharged the functions of an agent in selling

the plantation product. What were the charges for these services, and what were the characteristic features of the system, which differentiated it from any other relation of principal and agent? And what were its general economic tendencies and effects? The interest rate varied with times, places, and conditions. It probably ranged between eight and twelve per cent. It was usually charged only as funds were actually drawn, though in some instances it was computed on the face of the loan, regardless of the average time of its actual use by the borrower. There was also in some cases a customary brokerage fee of from one half of one per cent. to two and one half per cent. added to the interest charge. To the price of the goods, wares, and merchandise purchased for the planter was added a commission which varied according to custom from two to ten per cent. or more. The customary charge for selling the crop was a commission of two and one half per cent., but sometimes this was as high as four.

These were the only items of open profit to the factor in the transaction. But there were others which helped to make the business attractive, notwithstanding its hazards. In the early days cotton sales were effected through a broker who acted as a middleman between the factor and the resident agent of a foreign mill or merchant. To this broker was paid a commission of one half of one per cent., nominally borne by the mill agent. In practice and custom, however, one-half of this commission was paid by the factor and charged to the planter. This was supposed to be divided between the factor and the broker. The planter was taxed with various other charges, as freight, storage, insurance, drayage, weighing, sampling, mending, and repairing. These were returned on the account of sale to the planter at a uniform rate, fixed by custom or agreement, and were supposed to represent the actual amounts paid by the factor for the service rendered in behalf of the planter. As a matter of fact, custom early developed a system of rebates to the factor on practically all these charges. This seemed to be an inevitable incident of the control by the factor of large quantities of cotton to be warehoused, drayed, insured, compressed, and otherwise handled solely at his direction. Those who were engaged in such business at cotton ports naturally offered the factor the inducements of special rates and drawbacks in consideration of the heavy volume of business which he could divert to their hands.

The exaction of one of these exerted a particularly baneful influence upon the plantation system. This was the penalty commission feature of most advancing contracts between factor and planters, incident to the repayment of all loans in kind, rather than in money.

The fundamental consideration inducing extensions of credit under the factorage system was not the matter of interest on the funds advanced. This, indeed, was the least of such inducements. The very foundation of the system was the medium which it offered for the control and manipulation of large volumes of a great staple commodity holding a recognized position of prime importance in the commercial world. The planter's note, backed by his contract with the factor, with the latter's endorsement, could be rediscounted with the factor's correspondents in any financial centre in this country or abroad. The tremendous stocks of cotton accumulated in the factorage cities of the South, warehoused, insured, and controlled by the factor, furnished him a basis of credit unequalled by any other form of security the South had to offer. It was practically as convertible as the best forms of commercial paper. If cotton was king, the cotton factor was the power behind the throne. We do not need any documents to tell us that the inevitable consequence was the elevation of the mere volume of business—the naked number of bales of cotton grown by the planter and controlled by the factor—to a position of importance out of all true and proper economic relation to what should have been the primary considerations of cost and profit to the producer. The penalty commission was a simple expedient for stimulating the production of more bales of cotton. It was a proviso coupled to the agreement for paying the customary commission on sales, under which the planter bound himself to pay to the factor a certain sum per bale, sometimes ranging as high as four dollars, for each and every bale by which his actual production fell short of the stipulated number of bales which he agreed to ship. This was in addition to the agreement to plant so many acres in cotton, calculated to produce so many bales. Travelers and foreign observers of Southern conditions were accustomed to comment on the South's devotion to cotton, to the neglect of the principle of proper diversification, so essential to a permanently prosperous and well-balanced system of agriculture, and to attribute the trouble to slavery. Such foundation as there was for this criticism was in large measure due to the influences which we have suggested. Cotton was the only cash crop. It was moreover the only crop which could be used as a basis of credit. Every planter who was in debt fondly dreamed of the year when through a combination of a bumper yield and a fair price he would be enabled to throw off his shackles. But the only avenue of escape was through this happy combination, and it was too seldom realized. Even when a planter did finally grow independent the impulse to enlarge his un-

dertakings had become deep rooted and was apparently irresistible. There was a sort of atmospheric psychology in the situation which seemed to make a man forever dissatisfied with a stagnated sufficiency. He wanted more land and more slaves, which meant more cotton, and as more cotton was both a means and an end, the economic circle was thus easily established. But here again we have the personal equation. These men included in their ranks many who by inherent ability and force were as much captains of industry in their day and generation as were the cotton factors of the cities. Their activities simply found expression in expansion along lines normal to their period and environment, precisely as is the case in the industrial and financial world to-day. There need be no mystery about that phase of the matter.

In order to render absolute the factor's control of the entire crop, one of the cardinal features of the system was the requirement that every bale of cotton grown by the planter should be consigned to the factor. If the total crop were one thousand bales, and the first five hundred discharged the planter's debt, an exceedingly improbable supposition, the remaining five hundred bales must nevertheless go forward also. There were few, if any, agricultural lien laws in those days, but this requirement took their place. It also probably made their ultimate enactment less difficult, through common familiarity with the practical operation of their essential principle, which was a certain measure of control, by the financing agent, of the product grown through his assistance.

The broader economic effects of the factorage system would form in themselves alone an interesting and valuable field of inquiry. A primary incident was the concentration of Southern capital, and hence of its real wealth, in the few Southern cities which were its important factorage centres. Within the limitations of this paper, it would be useless to attempt even a casual consideration of this branch of the subject. But I am satisfied of the inaccuracy of the commonly accepted idea of ante-bellum Southern wealth as something naturally and essentially rural, as might be expected in a country whose sole business in popular estimation was that of agriculture.

One effect of the system was the retarding of the normal tendency toward the founding and developing of smaller urban communities, common even in an agricultural section. The factorage centres were enormous supply depots, from which were distributed to the interior South, through the factor in bulk, instead of through a local merchant by ordinary processes of retail trade, all the common

necessities, comforts, and conveniences of daily life. And it is a mistake to assume that I am here dealing with ancient history. The system outlived by many years the ante-bellum era, and within my memory, in the case of my own family, all the 'staple articles of domestic and plantation use were bought through my father's factor in New Orleans, and shipped four hundred miles by river, and then hauled by wagons twenty-odd miles further into the interior.

When interior urban development at last took place, it was naturally patterned after that of the seaboard factorage centres. Prosperous and influential factorage houses grew up at what became important interior river points. Here we had a repetition on a smaller scale of the accumulation of cotton and the concentration of capital and wealth which were the rule at seaboard. But this was a step in the direction of the diffusion, not of the break-up, of the system. These interior houses were in the nature of tributaries to the larger streams.

The beginning of the end of the seaboard system did not come until some years after the Civil War. The two most potent instrumentalities in its final dissolution were the railroads and the land-mortgage companies. The development of railroads made it possible for cotton to be shipped direct from the field of its production to that of its foreign or domestic consumption, which in turn made possible a real interior market. The advent of land-mortgage companies made possible a refunding process whereby the whole, or a large part, of a planter's obligations could be financed on a basis of the land alone. His current business could then be transferred on the security of a crop lien and personal property to smaller interior merchants and factors, whose capital, though limited as compared with the old institutions, had become large enough to meet the necessities of the business after the loan companies had assumed a large part of the burden. The country merchant had frequently become a factor through natural gradations, and he was at hand to take care of smaller business at first, and gradually to extend the field of his operations. Largely from his ranks was developed the country banker, who was an indispensable feature in the slow process of modifying and finally revolutionizing the ancient system. The country factor did business along the same general lines as his city prototype. But where he has taken over the factor's business at all, and this he has largely done, the country banker has practically abandoned the last vestige of the old system. He lends on the same security as the factor, but the business is on the same basis as any other commercial transaction. The railroad and the country mer-

chant and factor, the country compress and the country bank, have been followed by the country buyer, who furnishes the last link in the chain between raw cotton production and consumption. The elimination of the entrepreneur has by no means been accomplished, but the industry has been relieved of a large part of the load which it carried for the greater portion of the first century of its existence. Even in the remote interior a planter can to-day gin the cotton which yesterday was in the field, and to-morrow receive a check for it from a buyer who will consign it from the planter's platform to its destination at Fall River, Bremen, or Liverpool. Within the span of my personal experience, I have seen the time when a similar transaction would require from two to six months for its consummation, with the intervention of a dozen different agencies of transportation and trade.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE REFORM OF JOSIAH AND ITS SECULAR ASPECTS

THAT religion is the most important element in Hebrew history is a truism which none will dispute. That no element in this history has a value save in terms of religion is not a truism nor is it universally advocated, yet it is a fallacy underlying much of our biblical research. Thanks to the religious prestige of the Old Testament, its non-religious contents have directly influenced the history of later peoples along legal, political, and social lines. Without denying the supreme importance of the Hebrew religion, a fresh working over of the history from a purely secular standpoint has a distinct value of its own. Even the religion will be better understood when we more clearly realize the secular environment in which it developed.¹

An excellent illustration of the distortion caused by a purely religious standpoint is found in the Reform of Josiah.² Its date, 621 B. C., has come to be, in the eyes of modern biblical students, the central point in Hebrew history. The Book of the Law found at this time in the temple was undoubtedly the book of Deuteronomy.³

¹ This note is a by-product of studies which seek a new starting-point for the source-criticism of the Old Testament in an investigation of the passages added later than the earliest Greek translation. Cf. "Source Study and the Biblical Text", *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXX. 1 ff.; "The Earliest Book of Kings", *ibid.*, XXXI. 169 ff.

² II Kings xxii f. The account has been much interpolated in late times, cf. *Amer. Jour. Semitic Languages*, XXXI. 190. For proof, note the use of the shorter and later form Hilki'ah for Hilki'ahu in xxii. 8b-12; the three essential variants, with others of less importance, in the usually so fixed Massoretic Text; the numerous cases where even the late Greek translation of Theodotion has better readings than the Hebrew. The most important Hebrew variant, "Levites" for "Prophets", is another case of correction from Chronicles.

³ Or rather the core of Deuteronomy. Such passages as iv. 27 and xxviii. 36 ff., for example, are clearly post-exilic; omission from Greek manuscripts sometimes shows a post-Septuagintal date. That the original Deuteronomy was considerably shorter is also proved by a Hebrew papyrus fragment of pre-Massoretic character (S. A. Cook, *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology*, XXV. 34 ff.; *Expository Times*, XIV. 200 ff.) which frequently gives us the originals of Greek variant readings, including one entire verse hitherto considered a Greek interpolation. It also proves that Deut. v. 22-vi. 3 is a late Hebrew insertion. We should especially note that in this interpolated passage we find a triple use of the phrase "commandment, statutes, ordinances", already known as the most characteristic expression of the sections added to Kings in post-Septuagintal times.

With its date thus fixed, we have a standard by which to judge, not only the age of the various documents in our Old Testament, but the entire religious and secular development of the earlier history.

Undoubtedly the code of law then introduced was better adapted to the more complex civilization, undoubtedly it marked a great advance in ethical feeling and a growing kindliness. Nor can we deny that centring the cult in Jerusalem did much to make more definite a monotheism already developing from the idea that no patriotic Hebrew could worship any god but Yahweh.

Yet we shall largely misunderstand this central event in Hebrew history if we neglect its secular aspect. Centralization of the cult in Jerusalem was only one phase of a political centralization which had long been in process of development. The tendency toward union had already appeared in the time of the Judges and reached its height under David. That astute ruler took for his capital Jerusalem, a foreign and therefore pagan city, with no Hebrew associations save those connected with himself. In this city, an upstart in the sight of old cult-centres like Hebron and Bethel, Solomon built his temple. If earlier generations of scholars over-emphasized its glory, those of the present day have minimized its very real importance. Small as it was, it was the royal chapel, attached to the king's palace,⁴ and always under the direct control of the ruler who could sacrifice in person, high priest and king in one.⁵ Changes in religion, whether approved by the editor of Kings or not, are always attributed to the monarch alone. The funds of the temple are always at his disposal.⁶ It is the ruler who checks cases of priestly peculation.⁷ Even as late as the time of Ahaz, the king inquired in person of Yahweh by means of a special altar in the temple.⁸

Added to this tendency toward centralization which resulted from the royal character of the shrine, an influence of a more purely secular character should be noted. Already David had endeavored to form a close union of the tribes and the rebellions of Absalom and of Sheba marked the reaction against it. Solomon attempted to destroy the old tribal divisions and to bring his subjects under royal officials directly controlled by the central power. The revolt of Jeroboam marked the end of this effort. But with the fall of the

⁴ Cf. I Kings vii; II Kings xi. 9.

⁵ I Kings ix. 25; II Chron. xxvi. 16.

⁶ I Kings xv. 18; II Kings xii. 18; xvi. 8; xviii. 15.

⁷ II Kings xii. 4 ff.; cf. xxii. 3 ff.

⁸ II Kings xvi. 15.—Does v. 18, "from the face of the king of Assyria", hide a reference to worship of the King of Assyria and of Ashur, the deified Assyrian nation, within the temple precincts?

northern kingdom, this tendency became again dominant in Judah.

It is true that, in certain respects, the reform represents the victory of the Jerusalem aristocracy over the country elements. It is true that the book of Deuteronomy contemplated a king who was by no means free from control by that priestly aristocracy.⁹ But, whatever the origin of the book, it is clear that the actual reform was the work of Josiah alone. It was the king's order to use priestly funds for temple repair, neglected by the religious authorities, which led to the "discovery" of the Law. It was the king who carried out such demands of the Law as he saw fit. If Yahweh was now supreme in the land, so was his vicegerent the king; if Jerusalem was now the unique centre of Yahweh worship, no less was it the sole capital of the Hebrews. It is no accident that Jeremiah, the most profoundly religious mind of the period, opposed the introduction of the Law in these words, "I spake not with your fathers . . . concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices"; "the false pen of the scribe hath wrought falsely."¹⁰

But the strongest argument against a purely religious character for the reform is its effect upon religion. That in the long run it was an aid to the monotheism rapidly developing among the higher classes is true, for a single sanctuary demanded a single deity. But there was another side. The country priests were not, to be sure, left entirely deserted. Those who wished might come up to Jerusalem, be supported at state expense, and sink into dependents of the priestly aristocracy. Few seem to have come.¹¹ The irregular priests of the Judæan high places were burned to death¹² while even more severe was the punishment meted out to the priests and high places at Bethel in the northern kingdom.¹³

Far worse was the condition of the peasant. So far as authority could secure that result, he had been robbed of his religion. It is only too true that this worship was far from ideal. "On every high hill and under every green tree" were performed those rites in which sexual impurity found a place, and there were abuses connected with the local shrines which had long since invited the thunders of the prophets. But all was not unclean. At Hebron and at Beersheba had lingered the traditions of a loved and glorious past, when Abraham had been the friend of Yahweh. If the worship of the national god Yahweh under the form of a calf at Bethel had

⁹ Deut. xvii. 14 ff.

¹⁰ Jer. vii. 22; viii. 8.

¹¹ II Kings xxiii. 9.

¹² So the Greek on xxiii. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, xxiii. 15 ff.

provoked the indignation of advanced thinkers, few could forget that here it was that the hero Jacob had seen the ladder. If the closing of the shrines at Hebron and Beersheba meant a complete break with the past, the desecration of the altar at Bethel by burning upon it human bones was pure sacrilege. To many a thinking and pious Hebrew, the "reform" of Josiah must have seemed the utter negation of all that was best in the nation's past.

Religion had been a vital part of the peasant's life. When he slaughtered a sheep, it was a sacrifice to Yahweh. When he ate his simple meal, Yahweh might be present with him. When he brought his first fruits to the local sanctuary, he "rejoiced before the face of Yahweh". The priests were of his own class. If his asses were lost, the local seer told him where they were, and the cost was not great. The "man of God", scarcely more than a wandering dervish, ate his simple fare and blessed him.

Now all was changed. His priests had been slaughtered, or were far away, dependents in the distant city. His first fruits were eaten by men he knew not face to face. Only in Jerusalem could he be religious. That meant an absence of days from home, a tramp on foot under the blazing sun and over the unspeakable trails of Judah, and expense which, however small, was too great for his modest means. Arrived in Jerusalem, he must worship with utter strangers. The union of the official religion with the social life of the village was broken and broken forever.

Soon after, Josiah was killed in battle and barely a third of a century elapsed before Jerusalem fell and the temple was destroyed. The little group of deported leaders, exiled in Mesopotamia or Babylonia, might look back with longing to the temple in Jerusalem which had been the centre of their power as well as of their affections. A few might even leave the fleshpots of Babylonia and go back to their desolated homes. The peasants who had not been deported had lost touch with the official religion. Connection had been destroyed by the "reform", there had been no time for the temple to take its place. The peasant became a "pagan", one of the "people of the land" as they were stigmatized by those who arrogated to themselves the name of "Pious".

When at last the dispersion of the Jews throughout the Mediterranean world had made clear, even to the most "Pious", the impossibility of confining worship to the little mountain city, and the synagogue had been developed to meet the need, the peasant was in large part alienated from the official religion. Some had married

Philistine women,¹⁴ some had mingled with the Assyrian captives and formed the Samaritan people,¹⁵ some had accepted the Hellenistic religions.¹⁶ The remainder were lukewarm in their faith and doubtful in their orthodoxy. Later, some became Christians and more became Muslims after the Conquest. To-day, they worship Allah in name, but the religion which influences their lives is the religion of their fathers, in no small part identical with that which Josiah and his advisers attempted to stamp out. That they were once called Hebrews, they never suspect. All opportunity for influence by the advanced thinkers among the Hebrews was lost when the "reform" of Josiah snapped the connection between the official cult and the daily life of the peasant.¹⁷

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

JAMES I. AND WITCHCRAFT

THERE are several pieces of direct testimony that prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, that James I., throughout his English reign, prided himself on discovering imposture in cases of alleged bewitching or demoniacal possession.¹ To those that have already been cited, may now be added the evidence of John Gee, in a sermon at Paul's Cross in 1624.² Gee gives an account, which he has "learned within these few dayes", of a young woman in London "who pretendeth to be vexed and *possessed by a Devill*".³ He concludes his story with the significant remark: "I leave the examination of this to him that sits on our *Throne*, his *Maiestie*, who hath a happy gift in discovery of such *Impostures*."⁴

G. L. KITTREDGE.

¹⁴ Neh. xiii. 23 ff.

¹⁵ II Kings xvii. 24 ff.; Neh. xiii. 4 ff.

¹⁶ II Macc. iv. 7 ff.

¹⁷ Much of this paper is the direct result of days and nights spent among the peasants in their fields, on the road, and in their huts.

¹ *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy* (New York, 1912), pp. 53-64.

² *Hold Fast: a Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse upon Sunday being the XXXI. of October, Anno Domini 1624* (London, 1624).

³ P. 45.

⁴ P. 46.

CASTING VOTES OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS, 1789-1915

RECKONING from April 21, 1789, the day of John Adams's inaugural as Vice-President, to March 4, 1915, there appear to have been 179 instances of the use of the casting vote by the Vice-President in the Senate.¹ No attempt has hitherto been made to gather them together. All are of course recorded in the official journals of the Senate. A few have been recorded in connection with the Senate's exercise of its executive functions. As a rule, however, they have come with greater frequency (and usually unexpectedly) in the course of the Senate's proceedings on legislative matters. Of the great majority, little that is significant could be written. A small number, gaining contemporary comment because of crucial bearings on some variety of measures of a partizan nature, must always retain historic interest.

The following classification, though not arranged quite in accordance with logic or in subdivisions mutually exclusive, may yet serve as the basis for brief comment:²

I. Executive Functions:	i. Nominations	13
	ii. Treaties	3
II. Legislative Functions:	i. Elections of officers and questions of organization	7
	ii. Procedure	39
	iii. Bills and resolutions:	
	a. General public	91
	b. Local	5
	c. Private	21
Total		179

Where a two-thirds vote is essential for ratification, as in the case of treaties, obviously the Vice-President can have no direct influence on the final question of agreement. The subject "Treaties" (I, ii), it should accordingly be explained, concerns three votes cast on the same day (March 25, 1840), by means of which Vice-President R. M. Johnson was enabled to promote the proclamation of a treaty ratified by the Senate two years earlier (1838) with the Six Nations. The votes under "Procedure" (II, ii) were occasionally of incidental consequence. Several votes classified here were actually recorded, it may be added, while the Senate was in executive session.³ But,

¹ Adams, 29; Jefferson, 3; Burr, 3; Clinton, 11; Gerry, 8; Tompkins, 5; Calhoun, 28; Van Buren, 4; R. M. Johnson, 14; Dallas, 19; Fillmore, 3; Breckinridge, 10; Hamlin, 7; Colfax, 13; Wilson, 1; Wheeler, 5; Arthur, 3; Morton, 4; Stevenson, 2; Hobart, 1; Sherman, 4; Marshall, 2.

² In devising this classification, I have been aided by Messrs. J. David Thompson and Ernest Bruncken, of the Library of Congress.

³ *Executive Journals of the Senate*, under March 8, 1848, February 28, 1861, March 17, 1862, and January 31, 1879.

taken together, the votes under this subdivision do not lend themselves to separate consideration. "Local Bills" (II, iii, b) and "Private Bills" (II, iii, c) have so slight an historic interest as to be virtually negligible.

I. There has been no casting vote touching the subject of nominations since Vice-President Hamlin on March 17, 1862, used his right to vote for a postponement of the nomination of Edwin D. Morgan as major-general of volunteers. This was merely a matter of procedure and had no measurable effect upon the final ratification of the appointment a month later.⁴ Almost all the votes in this class were used in conformity to the wishes of various Presidents for the purpose of promoting the claims of nominees to offices. Twice, however, in the hands of Vice-President Calhoun the casting ballot served effectively as a weapon against President Jackson, for Calhoun was able first (January 13, 1832) to halt the nomination of Martin Van Buren as minister to England and finally (January 25) to defeat it. The incidents of these votes were of peculiar interest inasmuch as Van Buren was at the time in London acting as our minister on a recess commission, and his rejection helped to make him Vice-President. Moreover it is altogether probable that Calhoun's partizans in the Senate provided him with the opportunity which he sought thus to assert his spite against Jackson.

II. In this general division, all votes of special consequence fall within the two subdivisions (i) and (iii, a).

(i.) As early as December 14, 1829, Calhoun determined in a divided Senate (21 to 21) the election of a chaplain. This vote passed without comment. Exactly the same sort of election was settled—the Senate dividing 30 to 30—by Vice-President Fillmore on January 9, 1850. But the question arose as to the Vice-President's power to act in such a case. Calhoun, Clay, Berrien, and some other Senators of experience discussed the subject, but approved the action of Fillmore which had behind it the earlier precedent.

On November 28, 1877, Vice-President Wheeler cast a vote favoring the motion to consider a report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections in the case of William Pitt Kellogg of Louisiana. Although this vote did not directly determine the question of admitting to Senate membership in the matter of a disputed seat, it led the way to an intelligent, though inconclusive, discussion of the question of the Vice-President's right to cast his vote in such an issue. Senator Allen G. Thurman of Ohio argued vigorously against the supposed right of a Vice-President to have a vote upon the question of Senate membership. Is the Vice-President, he asked,

⁴ April 15.

"a part of the House when it comes to judge of the elections, qualifications, and returns of its members? It seems to me to say that he is, is to say that the House cannot decide that question the sole right to decide which is in the House".⁵ Senator Edmunds of Vermont on the other side of the issue believed that the Vice-President might lawfully cast his vote when Senate opinions were evenly balanced even over the question of possible membership. And Vice-President Wheeler took occasion to voice "no doubt of his right to vote in all cases in which the Senate is equally divided". Nevertheless, it still remains true that no Vice-President has yet been able by a vote to determine the question of admitting to membership in the Senate.

Under this subdivision belong the three casting votes of Vice-President Arthur which came early in the short but highly sensational extra session of the Senate, March 4-May 20, 1881. The Democrats at the opening of the session held a majority of votes, as they had done in the Senate for several preceding years. They were intent upon organizing the standing committees at once and proceeding with the business of nominations and treaties for which the Senate had been specially summoned. In view of the death (February 24) of the Republican Senator Matthew H. Carpenter of Wisconsin and the withdrawal to accept cabinet places under Garfield of Senators Blaine, Windom of Minnesota, and Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa, the Democrats were apparently not much disturbed over the question of holding control of the Senate organization. But the Republican minority under peculiarly able and experienced leadership began at the outset a determined opposition for the purpose of securing the standing committees: for a full fortnight it filibustered and delayed business. During this period it secured the good-will of two Senators of independent leanings: Senator David Davis of Illinois, who had acted usually with the Democrats, and Senator William Mahone, recently chosen from Virginia on a local issue and known as a "Re-adjuster". When William P. Frye of Maine arrived in Washington to take Blaine's vacant seat, the moment for action—March 18—was seen to have come. For days Senator G. H. Pendleton of Ohio had tried to obtain the Senate's consent to the Democratic plan of organization of the standing committees. When the vote on this plan was called for, it stood 37 to 37. Vice-President Arthur's ballot marked its defeat. Within a few minutes the Republicans put forward their organization plan—the so-called Anthony resolution—and won by exactly the same sort of vote, Arthur again settling the issue. While the Vice-President's third vote of March 24 was a

⁵ *Congressional Record*, 45 Cong., 1 sess., VI. 737.

mere incident in dilatory procedure, it was delivered during the second phase of the struggle which ultimately failed, the attempt of the Republicans to gain sufficient strength to overturn the officers of the Senate.

(iii, a.) In this subdivision, casting votes have arisen on diverse occasions. In the first sixty years of our government, there were three such occasions that are particularly well known and have often been the subjects of historical comment. Within recent years such occasions have been comparatively rare; but one of these—that marked by the so-called Bristow Amendment (June, 1911)—deserves attention.

John Adams's first vote of July 18, 1789, cast in a balanced Senate (9 to 9) for the purpose of establishing the President's right to remove an officer without consulting the body which must originally have given its consent to the appointment, is probably still as remarkable a vote in the long series as can be found. It determined a principle that, although not undisputed and even for a time beclouded (1867-1887), is to-day a well-recognized basis for justifying the so-called power of removal. On February 20, 1811, Vice-President Clinton, acting in accordance with his duty (as he conceived it) strictly to construe the letter of the Constitution, cast a vote which killed a measure designed to renew the charter and privileges of Hamilton's first Bank of the United States. On July 28, 1846, Vice-President G. M. Dallas cast two telling votes: the first saved the so-called Walker tariff bill from falling into the hands of a special committee; the second sent it summarily to its third reading and accordingly assured its course to President Polk and the statute-book.

All these votes affected, either immediately or remotely, large interests. The three men responsible for them—Adams, Clinton, Dallas—each addressed the Senate for the purpose of justifying their votes. On only one other occasion (Tompkins, January 21, 1819) is there record of a speech from a Vice-President justifying a casting vote. If one other casting vote of conspicuous moment can be found in the early days, it was probably that of John Adams when, on April 28, 1794, he opposed effectively the third reading of a bill to suspend British imports. Had such a bill become law, it might have rendered abortive the mission of John Jay, and perhaps have brought on war with England.⁶

On three occasions within recent years the casting vote has been the subject of comment. Two of these may be at once disposed of. The single casting vote of Vice-President Hobart on February 14, 1899, eight days after the Senate had ratified the treaty with Spain,

⁶ *Works of John Adams*, I. 457.

defeated the so-called Bacon Amendment, a careful formulation designed by the Senator from Georgia as a declaration of national policy toward the Philippines. With respect to a liberal policy it went a trifle further than the McEnery Resolution which it was designed to supplement. Hobart's vote recorded the Vice-President as in sympathy with the so-called Imperialist section of his party.⁷ Almost exactly twelve years later (February 2, 1911) Vice-President Sherman cast three votes within the remarkably short space of half an hour. The first two of these were interesting as revealing about thirteen Republicans ("Insurgents") aligning with the Democrats in opposition to an administration measure, the ocean-mail subsidy bill. The absence of a new Democratic Senator (Clarence W. Watson of West Virginia) from his seat at the time of voting was widely commented upon, as was the fact that Senator Lorimer of Illinois, whose right to a seat had not been determined, had voted with the administration Republicans. The third vote was merely a matter of procedure, and adjourned the Senate.

The fourth (and last) casting vote of Sherman, on June 12, 1911, delivered in a divided Senate (44 to 44), forced the adoption, into an amendment to the Constitution providing for election of Senators by direct vote, of an amendment formulated by Senator Bristow of Kansas. Bristow's amendment introduced a clause which retained for the federal government the power to supervise senatorial elections. It was carried by one vote, whereas the entire amendment had to be adopted—as it was—by the necessary two-thirds majority. The situation was altogether peculiar in Senate annals. It brought impressively forward the significance of the casting vote, and led the next day (June 13) to a long discussion of the casting ballot, which was directed by Senator Bacon of Georgia. Bacon's viewpoint may be best indicated in his own language. He said:

My proposition is that as to matters which do not relate to the ordinary business of the Senate, matters which do not relate to measures of legislation by Congress or to reciprocal or common business of the two Houses, or a matter which does not relate to any particular proceeding of the Senate, the Vice-President, not being a member of this body, has not the right to vote . . . the passage of a resolution proposing to the legislatures of the States the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution is not an act of legislation . . . it must receive the affirmative vote of the requisite number prescribed in each House. But it has not the effect of law. It is simply the presentation of a proposition to the

⁷ For the Bacon Amendment, see *Journal of the Senate*, 55 Cong., 3 sess. (1898-1899), p. 119, McEnery Resolution in *Congressional Record*, 55 Cong., 3 sess., XXXII. 1479; James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines* (1914), II. 10-15.

tribunal which is to determine it, which is, at last, the legislatures of the States.⁸

Inasmuch as the President has nothing whatever to do with the process of an amendment to the Constitution, why, asked Senator Bacon, should the Vice-President have anything to do with the process? Senator W. J. Stone of Missouri, on the other hand, conceding that the vote might have been improperly cast, reminded the Senate that the vote came while the matter was in committee of the whole, and that at a later stage the two-thirds vote of the Senate had really terminated the issue.⁹ Nothing was settled, for the discussion, coming the day after the vote, induced no reconsideration of the vote. But the discussion was sufficiently extensive and thoughtful to be ranked with that earlier discussion in November, 1877, on a somewhat different phase of the same general theme.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

⁸ *Congressional Record*, 62 Cong., 1 sess., XLVII., pt. II., pp. 1949-1950.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1957.

DOCUMENTS

Letters from Lafayette to Luzerne, 1780-1782

PART II.

THE letters from Lafayette to Luzerne which follow are, with a single exception, of the year 1781. So well known are the military events of that year, especially those of the Virginia campaign which culminated in the fall of Yorktown, that it has not been deemed necessary to review them. It may, however, be worth while to indicate, in outline, Lafayette's part in them, the more so as the letters leave much to be understood. It will be remembered that the preceding letters left Lafayette, in October, 1780, in command of the Light Infantry Division of Washington's army. He remained with the army until it went into winter quarters at New Windsor, and then went to Philadelphia, where he spent the better part of December. He returned to headquarters early in January, 1781, stopping on the way because of the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, of which his letters contain some account. In the latter part of February he was placed in command of a detachment designed to operate against Arnold, who was now in Virginia. He reached the Head of Elk on March 3, and Annapolis on March 10, where he left his troops and proceeded to Yorktown, hoping to have news of the French fleet which was to co-operate with him. This fleet, however, had a disadvantageous action off the Virginia capes and failed to enter the Chesapeake, whereupon Lafayette was forced to bring his expedition back to the Head of Elk. Here he received Washington's orders of April 6 to reinforce Greene, and promptly starting south, he reached Richmond on April 29 in time to save the city from Phillips.

From that time until the arrival of the allied troops in September Lafayette was in command in Virginia. Unable to prevent the junction of Cornwallis with Phillips's army, which took place at Petersburg on May 20, he was obliged to retire before Cornwallis's superior forces until he could effect a junction with Wayne near the Rapidan on June 10. Cornwallis now turned towards Portsmouth followed by Lafayette. No general engagement took place and Lafayette took his army into summer quarters at Malvern Hill. In August the fleet of de Grasse arrived and in September the allied armies under Washington and Rochambeau were on hand and the Yorktown

campaign, properly speaking, was begun. After the surrender of Cornwallis, Lafayette obtained a leave of absence and returned to France.

The letters here printed are supplemented by those which Lafayette wrote to Washington, printed in Sparks' *Letters to Washington*. The best account of Lafayette's activities during 1781 is of course to be found in the biography by Charlemagne Tower.

WALDO G. LELAND.

XXIX.

TRENTON ce 4 janvier six he.¹

Ma gazette sera peu favorable, Monsieur le chevalier, et les insurgens sont plus endiablés que jamais.² Toute la ligne est rassemblée à Princetown ou ils arriverent hier au soir, et ou ils ont sejourné aujourd'hui. On leur a envoyé une deputation de Trenton pour les prier de ne pas passer dans cette ville: quelques personnes croient qu'ils y viendront demain; ils ont cependant dit qu'ils resteroient à Princetown comme un point intermediaire d'ou si la Milice faisoit mine de les attaquer ils pourroient se rendre à Newyork après avoir mis le pais à feu et à sang sans distinction d'age ni de sexe; mais si on les laisse tranquille, ils disent qu'ils ne passeront point aux ennemis. Ils marchent dans un ordre admirable, ont des commandants, des piquets, et tout ce qui peut maintenir chés eux la sureté et le bon ordre. Le G'al Waïne et les C'els Butler et Stewart³ sont avec eux comme des especes d'otages, avec une garde à leur poste, et ne peuvent parler qu'à des Committés de sergeants envoyés pour traiter, auxquels en revenant on ôte tout commandement de peur de corruption. Ce qu'il y a de pis c'est que les sentinelles et piquets ont ordre de ne laisser passer aucun officier Continental, et que personne n'a la liberté de haranguer les soldats. Tout se passe par Committés, et cette derniere precaution prouve que les emissaires Anglois sont determinés à prevenir tout effet que pourroit avoir sur eux ou l'influence ou l'eloquence des particuliers.

Nous envoions au president du Congrès une copie des propositions faites par eux et des reponses du G'al Waïne.⁴ Nous les avons eues par le Commissaire Stewart⁵ qui à ce titre a été receu parmi eux, et qui a causé non seulement avec le Committé de sergeants mais même *par hasard* avec une foule de soldats qui est venu l'entourer.

Lord Stirling⁶ alloit à eux avec quelques autres personnes; mais d'après l'assurance d'être tués par ce monde là que leur a donné le Commissaire Stewart, ils n'ont pas cru devoir s'avancer et ont retourné sur leurs pas; quant à nous, il faut en courir les risques, et ce soir nous nous avançons à six mille d'eux, pour y arriver demain matin. On a fort taché

¹ Fols. 192-194 v. A. L.

² This refers of course to the well-known revolt of the Pennsylvania line. Full accounts and documents are in *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, XI, 631-674, and in Charles J. Stillé, *Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line*, pp. 241-262.

³ Colonel Richard Butler and Colonel Walter Stewart.

⁴ The proposals of the committee of sergeants and the reply of Wayne, both of January 4, are printed in *Penn. Arch.*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Charles Stewart, major and commissary general of issues of the Continental army.

⁶ William Alexander, Lord Stirling, major-general in the Continental army.

de nous effraier, mais je ne crois pas le danger si grand qu'ils le disent à beaucoup près.

Les soldats ont parlé à Stewart de tous les généraux et dans les termes peu amicaux, il n'y a que moi pour lequel ils ont avoué avoir un fond d'amitié; mais ils me trouvent trop sévère sur l'article de la discipline. Stewart dit qu'ils tueront St. Clair, mais à ces éclaboussures près il ne croient pas qu'ils me touchent autrement que pour me faire prisonnier. Leur avant garde est commandée par des chefs de complot; mais coute qui coute je lâcherai mon discours.

Je n'ai rien entendu dire du général; les officiers de Pensilvanie se sont rassemblés sur les derrières. On met la milice sur pied; je prêche la paix, et à moins d'être sûr de les pouvoir tuer tous si je veux, je ne tirerois pas un seul coup de fusil.

Ne mandés rien en France de tout ces faits; attendés une détermination qui ne peut pas être retardée; si par bonheur tout ceci s'arrangeoit, il seroit cruel de perdre là bas la réputation de l'armée. Vous savés néanmoins, Monsieur la chevalier, que la ligne de Pensilvanie, n'est pas composée comme les autres de soldats citoyens. On dit que les autres joindront, mais je vous reponds du contraire sur ma tête; ce qui peut être ce soir n'est pas un pari si cher qu'à l'ordinaire. Sérieusement, Monsieur le chevalier, je ne crois pas le danger si grand qu'on le dit, et je serois bien fâché que votre amitié prit des inquiétudes sur la foi des messieurs qui ont causé cette après midi avec les insurgents, et qui chargent le tableau.

Dans ce moment Mde. Craig⁷ arrive au Concert, et moi je pars pour la petite ville de *Maidenhead* que malgré son joli nom je quitterai demain matin pour me présenter seul si je puis, ou du moins avec St. Clair et Proctor⁸ sans Aides de Camp au milieu de ces messieurs, et voir s'ils veulent interrompre mon passage ou mon éloquence. Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, mes compliments à Mr. de Marbois à Deux Ponts⁹ et à tous ces messieurs.

Point de nouvelles des ennemis; il y a cependant passé des deserteurs; en se rendant à Trenton chés le Commissaire Stewart Mr. de Deux Ponts pourra savoir ou nous sommes.

Nous apprenons à l'instant que les propositions du G'al Wayne ont été rejetées; que les insurgents comptent venir ici demain, et par conséquent nous les trouverons en marche. Tout ce qu'on dit ne m'empêche pas de croire que nous serons soufferts par eux.

XXX.

MORRISTOWN ce 7 janvier 1781¹⁰

Vous êtes sûrement curieux, Monsieur le chevalier, de savoir les détails de cette malheureuse revolte; je vais vous communiquer ici ce que j'en ai pu apprendre, et ce que j'en ai vu moi-même.¹¹

⁷ Madame Craig was the wife of John Craig, a Philadelphia merchant. She had been educated abroad and spoke French and Italian fluently, and her house was much frequented by the French officers. See *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, II. 2.

⁸ Colonel Thomas Proctor of the Continental artillery?

⁹ Probably the elder of the two brothers, Christian, Marquis de Deux-Ponts, colonel of the regiment of Royal-Deux-Ponts.

¹⁰ Fols. 198-199 v. A. L.

¹¹ For General St. Clair's account of this visit of Lafayette and himself to the insurgents see his letter to Washington of January 7, 1781, in Sparks, *Letters to Washington*, III. 195.

La ligne de Pensilvanie étoit depuis longtemps mecontente, et il faut avouer que plusieurs d'eux ont droit de se plaindre de l'interprétation donnée à leurs engagements, ainsi que de la manière dont quelques officiers ont reçu leurs représentations. Ce grief et quelques autres circonstances ont donné lieu aux déserteurs et émissaires anglois de fabriquer cette mutinerie. Les détails qu'on vous en a donnés sont assez justes; j'y ajouterai seulement que le C^l Stewart ayant conduit une partie de son régiment à charger les mutins, en a été abandonné au moment où les bayonnettes se croisoient et tout le monde s'est tourné contre lui. Les officiers de Pensilvanie ont vraiment couru beaucoup de danger à cette occasion.

Ma lettre dattée de Trenton vous aura donné quelque idée de l'organisation de ces Messieurs; mais elle n'a pu qu'exagérer nos dangers personnels par ce qu'elle étoit écrite après une conversation alarmante avec le Commissaire G^{al} Mr. Stewart, le gouverneur,¹² et lord Stirling. Les deux dragons de Philadelphie vous auront dit comment on nous a reçus et comment on nous a renvoyés; je vais encore vous en répéter les circonstances les plus intéressantes.

D'après les lugubres prédictions de ces messieurs nous attendions une très mauvaise réception; mais ayant trouvé plusieurs bas officiers et soldats hors la ville, nous leur demandâmes la raison de tout ce fracas. Ils nous répondirent avec un embarras et une honte qui nous parut de bon augure, et nous avancâmes jusqu'au sentinelle qui nous arrêta et nous fit reconnoître fort en règle. Ayant passé outre, je pris la liberté de donner un ordre au bas officier de la garde qui me dit qu'il n'y manqueroit pas. Delà on nous conduisit au Comité de sergents, lesquels nous reçurent fort respectueusement. Nous leur parlâmes et ils nous montrèrent ce qui avoit été écrit entre le G^{al} Wayne et eux. Delà nous allâmes chez le g^{al} Wayne, et nous y vîmes à plusieurs reprises les chefs qu'ils se sont donnés.

J'ai vu que les malheureux étoient guidés par une bande d'émissaires anglois, ou de sergents attachés à leur nouveau pouvoir qui ne vouloient pas souffrir que l'on allât à leurs soldats. Cette forme de Comité que le g^{al} Wayne a cru devoir proposer ôte toute possibilité de parler à la Multitude; c'est toujours au Comité qu'ils vous renvoient, ainsi qu'à leur commencement de traité. D'ailleurs ils sont organisés comme une petite armée; ils ont leurs généraux, leurs colonels etc, et jusqu'à ce qu'on les divise, il n'y a pas moyen d'en faire une multitude sans ordre, ce qui dans mon opinion particulière me paraitroit l'état désirable.

Nous avions l'espérance de détacher le Rgt. du C^l Stewart, et d'engager les autres à se porter sur Trenton, ce qui ne plaît pas à leurs sergents, mais nous paroît avantageux afin de les éloigner des ennemis; ils nous ont juré que si les anglois sortoient ils viendroient nous joindre ici pour les combattre avec le g^{al} Wayne à leur tête. Je le crois assez, mais dans l'autre cas, comme il en faudra venir à la force, il est dangereux de les garder si près d'ici.

Nos affaires étoient en assez bon train lorsque le comité de sergents nous a fait dire que la ligne se plaignoit de voir tant d'officiers et craignoit qu'ils ne tramassent quelque chose contre eux. Ils nous conseilloyent de faire une *prompte retraite* crainte of evil consequences. Un autre message ne nous donnoit qu'une heure et demie; je n'étois pas

¹² President Reed of Pennsylvania, frequently referred to in correspondence as "governor".

nommé dans tout cela, mais tout le monde partant, et tout le monde convenant de l'impossibilité de parler aux soldats et de traiter autrement que de la maniere etablie entre le g'al Waïne et eux nous avons quitté Princetown laissant ces trois messieurs qu'on peut regarder comme prisonniers; mais déterminés et organisés comme ils le sont, je suis ettonné qu'ils ne nous aient pas tous gardés.

En venant ici nous avons trouvé sur la route beaucoup de soldats, et les avons engagé a retourner sur leur pas. Il y en a un parti d'environ trente, ou mon bavardage a pensé céder aux instances de quelques mutins, mais après beaucoup d'effusions de coeur, et de belles paroles, ils ont enfin consenti à retourner à leurs huttes. Je souhaite que le rum ou l'influence des chefs de meute ne changent pas leur resolution. Tous ces gens-là me disent qu'ils me suivroient partout si j'avois besoin d'eux ou contre les ennemis ou contre ma sureté personnelle, qu'ils mourroient jusqu'au dernier sous mes ordres, mais que je ne sais pas tout ce qu'ils ont souffert; qu'ils se feront rendre justice par leur païs; qu'ils verront une deputation de l'assemblée, qu'ils acheveront leur traité avec le g'al Waïne, et qu'alors ils reviendront à Morristown. Mais leurs demandes sont extravagantes, et d'ailleurs il paroît difficile de consentir à un pardon general.

Il reste encore quelques hommes dans les huttes; nous tachons de les rassembler sous des officiers et de les envoyer à quelques milles. Le canon qui reste, et une partie des munitions sera envoyé à Chattam, ou est un detachement de Jersey. Les autres munitions seront envoyées ailleurs. Il y a eu du mouvement dans le detachement de Jersey qui est en avant de nous causé par quelques soldats anglois et irlandois, mais les autres les ont fait taire. On dit qu'une Brigade de Connecticut marche ici; en attendant nous avons derriere nous Princetown à notre droite environ deux cent Pensilvaniens eparpillés, devant nous trois cent miliciens, et trois cent hommes Continentaux de Jersey; ce qui joint à l'ennemi lequel cependant n'est pas encore sorti rend notre position un peu preciaire.

Il y a deux choses qui m'allarment; la premiere que la milice n'est pas très disposée à ataquier ces gens-là dans le cas ou ils ne tenteront pas de passer à l'ennemi; la seconde que nous avons ici un de leurs chefs envoyés par eux pour chercher des munitions et le reste des hommes, que le g'al St. Clair a cru devoir faire arrêter, et que nous ne pouvons ni garder ni lâcher sans un danger eminent.

Le g'al St. Clair ecrit au g'al Waïne pour lui conseiller de venir trouver le g'al Washington; je ne sais s'il comprendra l'avis. Beaucoup de gens pensent que si la Pensilvanie peut mettre sa milice sur pied, il vaudroit mieux laisser le tout ou une partie passer la Delaware; la crainte qu'en ont les chefs me paroît de bon augure. J'attends ici le g'al Washington et cette Brigade de Connecticut. Si j'eusse été tout seul, là bas, peutêtre aurois-je pu rester, mais si je ne puis rien faire par persuasion j'aime mieux etre opposé aux ennemis qu'à mes anciens soldats, et je prefererai . . . [*rest of sentence obliterated by binding.*]

XXXI.

NEW WINDSOR ce 14 janvier 1781¹³.

Le depart du C'l Armand,¹⁴ Monsieur le chevalier, me fournit une occasion sur de vous ecrire, et j'en profite avec bien de l'empres-

¹³ Fols. 200-201 v. A. L. S.

¹⁴ Charles Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie.

sement; les nouvelles relatives aux Pennsylvaniens vous arriveront plutôt qu'à nous; cette affaire est la plus delicate et la plus desagréable qui nous soit encore arrivée; je ne sais ce qu'arrangera le president¹⁵ qui s'est mis à la tête de cette negotiation, ou le Congres¹⁶ qui s'en est mêlé sans que personne les en priat, mais je sais bien que la dissolution totale de la ligne me paroîtroit moins facheuse que le pardon des principaux chefs, et que les officiers de Pennsylvanie sont trop militaires pour consentir à commander des troupes qui se seroient impunement revoltés; j'aimerois donc mieux, Monsieur le chevalier, que cette division fut aneantie et rengagée par l'état dont la mauvaise foi vis à vis une partie de leur soldats a causé tout ce fracas. Mais il faut laisser faire à ces Messieurs, et nous ne devons pas nous en mêler puisqu'ils se sont chargés de l'arrangement.

D'un autre côté, Monsieur le chevalier, le G'al Washington est fort embarrassé sur ce qu'il doit faire. L'importance de West Point lui a fait abandonner le projet d'aller sur le champ dans le Jersey. Nous avons préparé un detachement qui peut marcher au premier instant; mais sans compter que nos difficultés de provisions, de transportation etca., etca. sont pires qu'elles n'ont jamais été, sans parler du danger que courroit avec une foible garnison une place qu'il est impossible d'approvisionner, il y a bien des inconvenients à tirer l'épée contre ces mutins, et la certitude de les ecraser n'est pas assés grande pour encourager à une attaque. D'ailleurs, Monsieur le chevalier, j'avoüe qu'il est affreux de passer son hiver à s'entre tuer sans que l'ennemi essüie aucune perte, et quand je pense que la plus grande partie des soldats est entraînée par quelques chefs, que ces braves gens ont souffert avec nous pendant quatre ans, ont été blessés avec nous, ont partagé nos triomphes et nos malheurs, qu'ils ont à se plaindre non seulement de leur longue misere mais même d'une tromperie averée dans leurs engagements, je vous assure que la nécessité de les combattre me paroîtroit bien malheureuse.

Ceci fera bien du bruit à Rhode island,¹⁷ et en fera bien davantage en Europe; mais si leurs troupes avoient souffert pendant quatre ans ce qu'on[t] souffert les notres; si depuis quinze mois elles n'avoient pas reçu un sol de paie, si on ne leur avoit donné ni habits, ni vivres, si on les avoit déjà retenu un an de plus que ne le portoient leurs engagements, il est probable qu'ils n'attandroient pas le treizieme mois pour dire qu'il est injuste de les retenir plus longtemps. Les grenadiers de France à Nancy, l'armée espagnole en Hollande, l'armée Anglaise en Amerique, les armées allemandes en differentes occasions, les armées de Cesar, celles d'Alexandre, celles du Connetable de Bourbon, tout cela s'est revolté pour des raisons bien moindres, et par consequent on ne doit pas etre si ettonné de ce que fait la ligne de Pennsylvanie presque toute composée d'étrangers.¹⁸

Depuis mon retour ici, Monsieur le chevalier, j'ai eu avec le g'al Washington de serieuses conversations, et le resultat n'est, je vous assure,

¹⁵ *I. e.*, President Reed.

¹⁶ Congress appointed a committee to investigate the revolt. It consisted of Sullivan, Witherspoon, Mathews, Atlee, and Bland. Its correspondence with President Reed is in *Penn. Arch.*, *loc. cit.*; its report to Congress is in *Journals* (ed. Hunt.), January 24, 1781.

¹⁷ *I. e.*, among the French officers and troops at Newport.

¹⁸ Cf. Stillé, pp. 248-250, where it is stated that two-thirds of the Pennsylvania line were Scotch-Irish.

rien moins qu'agréable. Dans toute la confiance de l'amitié, et dans l'amertume de notre coeur nous sommes convenus que sans un prompt secours de vaisseaux et d'argent nos affaires deviendroient desesperées; il est impossible de se figurer nos embarras actuels; à peine peut-on fournir à la subsistence de la foible garnison de Westpoint; enfin, lors même que la France auroit eu l'odieuse politique dont les torys ont l'infamie de l'accuser, et que l'inaction des campagnes passées sembloit confirmer, il seroit tems de se decider à donner des secours efficaces et de s'assurer les avantages de cette Revolution. On croit à Versailles, monsieur le chevalier, que mon attachement pour l'Amerique me fait exagerer; il faut esperer que votre voix paroitra plus impartiale. Je vous prie de faire mille compliments à Mr. de Marbois, et d'agréer l'assurance de mon tendre attachement.

LAFAYETTE

XXXII.

NEW WINDSOR ce 17 janvier 1781¹⁹

N'est-il pas ettonant, Monsieur le chevalier, que nous n'ayons pas encore receu des nouvelles de France, et que depuis le trois de juin il semble que l'on ait oublié cette partie-ci du monde? Il m'est arrivé par la poste un paquet de lettres particulieres et comme elles sont dattées du dix Avril elle ne renferment aucune intelligence qui nous puisse eclairer. Je ne sais ce que l'on fait en France; mais je suis humilié de voir les Anglois se promener impunement sur la côte, et Arnold²⁰ operer tranquillement avec ses quinze cent hommes. Quand aurons nous enfin cette superiorité maritime sans laquelle on ne fait rien, et que politiquement et militairement nous ne devons pas cesser un instant de conserver?

Le g'al Knox²¹ a été se promener dans les etats de l'est, et mettre sous les yeux des assemblées la necessité de faire des efforts, et les inconvenients qu'il y auroit à se negliger. Voilà l'affaire de Pennsylvanie arrangée tant bien que mal; il est impossible de ne pas leur savoir gré du rôle qu'ils ont fait jouer à Sir Henry Clinton.²²

Le general a receu de MMs. les generaux français des reponses relatives à l'affaire de la Floride. Mr. de Rochambeau dit qu'il faut avant tout attendre des nouvelles de France; Mr. Destouches dit qu'il n'a pas de biscuit et que par consequent il est impossible de sortir.²³ Tâchons donc que le corps de bataille se joigne vite à l'avant garde, et qu'il nous arrive un Amiral et des vaisseaux. Car quoi qu'on dise, Monsieur le chevalier, notre position est bien loin d'etre douce; c'est

¹⁹ Fols. 202-203 v. A. L. S.

²⁰ Benedict Arnold, now in command of a small British force in Virginia.

²¹ See instructions of Knox in Washington's letter to him of January 7, 1781, in Sparks, *Writings*, VII. 354.

²² Referring to the complete failure of Clinton's efforts to induce the Pennsylvania line to come over to the British. Some of Clinton's emissaries were hanged.

²³ In a letter to Rochambeau and de Ternay of December 15, 1781 (Sparks, *Writings*, VII. 325), Washington had suggested the co-operation of the French in the Spanish expeditions against Pensacola and St. Augustine. The reply of Rochambeau, of January 10, is printed in Doniol, V. 401. It should be noted that de Ternay died on December 15, and that the Chevalier Destouches, senior captain, succeeded to the command of the fleet, holding it until the arrival of the Comte de Barras, on May 8.

avec une veritable affliction que je vois nos embarras s'accroître; mandons le bien fortement à Versailles; sans argeant nous ne serons pas en état de bouger, et, qui pis est, il n'y aura pas moyen de nous porter à manger ou nous resterons; chaque instant me demontre encore plus la necessité de nous secourir; Dieu veuille que les Ministres en soient aussi persuadés que moi, et que surtout on ne perde pas de tems. Oserois-je vous prier, Monsieur le chevalier, de dire au Chev. du Buisson²⁴ que je ne puis lui rien mander encore de certain sur son affaire; le C^l Tilmangh par qui le general l'a fait passer est malade dans cet instant; la premiere occasion lui donnera quelque chose de plus sûr; le general se souvient cependant qu'une de ses lettres à Newyork n'a pas pu être envoyée, parcequ'une des phrases en passant par les mains du general auroit fait prendre un engagement tacite à quelque chose dont il ne pouvoit pas repondre.

Aussitôt que vous aures des nouvelles, Monsieur le chevalier, je vous conjure de me les faire parvenir d'une maniere plus expeditive que la poste ou les couriers ordinaires; je vous en promets autant de mon côté, et si vous avés quelque chose de plus pour le C^l Laurens je le ferai passer au port de Boston pour lequel il part demain matin.²⁵ Je lui ai donné plusieurs lettres d'introduction ou je repete les verités déjà dites tant de fois. Je n'ai pas encore écrit ma lettre à Mr. de Vergermes, et j'espere que vous voudrés bien leur expliquer l'affaire de Pennsylvanie dont les details racomodent un peu le premier aspect.

Si nous parvenons à assurer pour quelques jours la subsistence de Westpoint, nous nous rendrons à Rhode Island et les nouvelles de france mettront peut-être le General à portée de prendre des arrangements ulterieurs.

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, faites je vous prie mille compliments à Mr. de Marbois, et presentés mes hommages à toutes vos dames en agreant celui du tendre attachement que je vous ai voué.

LAFAYETTE

XXXIII.

RING WOOD ce 26 janvier 1781²⁶

Cette lettre-ci, Monsieur le chevalier, vous sera remise par Mrs. de Charlus et de Dillon,²⁷ et n'ayant que le tems de vous écrire un mot sur le coin d'une table, je m'en rapporte à eux pour vous donner des nouvelles; il n'y en a point encore d'Europe, et le Mars n'est pas plus arrivé que la Seconde division.

Les Pennsylvaniens sont tellement fondus qu'ils ne feront ni bien ni mal à personne; il est bien à desirer que l'état refasse cette ligne, et qu'en remplissant le *Quota* ils ne mettent pas les amendes à quinze punds lorsqu'il en faut donner trente pour avoir un homme.

²⁴ The Chevalier du Buisson, a French volunteer officer in the American army, was made prisoner at the battle of Camden. His "affaire" refers to his exchange, with regard to which Washington wrote numerous letters.

²⁵ John Laurens was on his way to France. He sailed from Boston on February 13. See Benjamin Lincoln to Washington, February 15, 1781, in Sparks, *Letters to Washington*, III. 231.

²⁶ Fols. 204-205. A. L.

²⁷ Comte de Charlus de la Croix, son of the Marquis de Castries. Charlus was *mestre de camp en second* of the regiment of Saintonge and was a close personal friend of Lafayette. His father was at this time minister of the marine. Dillon is referred to by Washington, in his letter of January 4, as Count de Dillon, colonel in Lauzun's legion. Washington Papers, P. II., 267, in Lib. Cong.

Il n'y a que deux cent mutins du Jersey à Pompton; il y marche demain quatre cent hommes, et le general est déterminé à user des voies rigoureuses; le desir d'arrêter cet espoir de sedition l'a conduit à Ringwood. L'idée que les revoltés étoient à Morristown, que par consequent les Anglois sortiroient, m'avoit mené ici pour etre opposé à ces derniers; dans les circonstances actuelles je n'ai rien à faire, et je retourne demain à New Windsor.

Ces Messieurs vous diront le petit succès qu'a eu le Lt. C'l Hale contre le Colonel de Lancey:²⁸ je suis bien aise qu'on ait donné sur les doigts à ce corps surtout dans la circonstance actuelle.

Mr. de Charlus vous parlera, Monsieur le chevalier d'une petite dispute entre le gouverneur Hancock et Mr. de Viomenil, ou je vois que Mr. de Valnais paroît avoir contribué; je ne donne à ces Messieurs aucune lettre pour Philadelphie; personne n'y peut presenter comme vous, et je prevois déjà que Mr. Dillon rendra ses devoirs à San Francisco²⁹ de maniere à partager la bonne fortune de la Maison.

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, j'espere que vous ne doutés pas de mon tendre attachement.

XXXIV.

NEW WINDSOR ce 2 fevrier 1781.³⁰

L'arrivée de Mr. de Charlus, Monsieur le chevalier, et l'avantage qu'il a eu d'être à peu près temoin oculaire, vous auront appris tous les details relatifs à l'affaire des troupes du Jersey;³¹ elle s'est passée d'une maniere plus militaire que les negociations pennsylvaniennes; l'on doit aux bataillons du Jersey la justice de dire que plusieurs d'eux, et entre autres une compagnie entiere d'infanterie legere avoient refusé de quitter leurs officiers; il est je crois difficile de trouver plus de zele, plus de discipline, et plus d'oubli de son propre interest en faveur du bien public, que n'en a montré le detachement de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Le G'al Clinton vouloit encore se mêler de cette affaire-ci, et je ne sais comment il aura trouvé la plaisanterie de West Chester³² pour ramener son attention au departement dont il étoit sorti.

Mes depêches vont partir pour Boston, Monsieur le chevalier, et je ne suis que trop sûr d'y trouver encore le C'l Laurens. L'on chiffre actuellement ma lettre à Mr. de Vergennes,³³ et la premiere occasion vous en portera la copie qu'il seroit trop long de faire avant le depart de l'exprès. J'y delaie dans un grand volume ce que j'avois mandé de Philadelphie: la necessité absolue, *mais très absolue* de nous envoyer de l'argent pour mettre en mouvement l'armée Americaine; la necessité de faire ici une campagne decisive, et d'y avoir la superiorité maritime

²⁸ Expedition of General Parsons and Lieutenant-Colonel Hull against Delancey's corps at Westchester, January 21-22. British barracks were destroyed and some 54 prisoners taken. See Sparks, *Writings*, VII. 392, note.

²⁹ It has been impossible to explain this allusion.

³⁰ Fols. 218-219 v. A. L. S.

³¹ The revolt of the New Jersey line of January 20 was speedily suppressed by the vigorous action of General Howe. See his letter to Washington of January 27, and other documents relating to the affair, in Sparks, *Writings*, VII. 560-566.

³² See note 28.

³³ Lafayette to Vergennes, January 30-February 4, in Stevens's *Facsimiles*, no. 1632; printed in *Mémoires*, I. 394.

bien assurée, l'importance d'augmenter le corps de troupes, mais ne la regardant que comme le troisieme article, en ne croyant pas necessaire qu'il y ait ici plus de dix mille français, si le surplus nous privoit ou d'une partie de l'argeant ou d'une partie des vaisseaux dont nous avons besoin. Voilà, monsieur le chevalier, ce qu'il y a de plus interessant dans ma lettre; je mets sous les yeux du gouvernement l'humiliation que nous epprouvons en voyant les côtes ravagées par des detachements de quinze cent hommes; je rends la justice dûe à nos soldats, et dis qu'on doit compter sur les troupes Americaines; je parle des Pennsylvaniens, des Jersaysiens, et vous sentés bien que je n'oublie pas les Nouveaux Angletteriens; quoique ma lettre ne soit pas une lettre d'admiration, j'admire cependant la sagesse du gouvernement en mettant le corps francais aux ordres absolus de notre generallissime; mais je ne dis pas que le ton de la derniere reponse de Mr. de Rochambeau ne m'a pas paru tout à fait aussi bien que les autres,³⁴ et je ne vous le dis même à vous qu'en confidence; enfin je termine ma lettre en promettant quinze mille hommes de troupes regleés, et dix mille hommes de milices, lors de l'expedition de Newyork, et en disant qu'avec les moyens proposés par mon epître nous prendrons cette place la campagne prochaine.

Le general m'a communiqué quelques notes qu'il a données au C^l Laurens,³⁵ il voit nos affaires sous un point de vûe qui parle fortement pour la necessité du secours; tous les jours ajoutent à nos embarras; la maniere dont nous allons ne peut pas durer; on est fort serieux ici sur notre situation, et l'on regarde la prompte arrivée de l'argeant, des habits, etca, ainsi qu'il des vaisseaux comme une chose absolument necessaire: Repetés le bien, Monsieur le Chevalier, et comme on ne vous soupçonne pas d'autant de partialité, les verités que vous manderés feront plus d'effet que si elles venoient de moi. Nous attendons le retour de l'exprés pour aller à Rhode island, et s'il vous reste des paquets à envoyer en France, je m'en chargerai d'autant plus volontiers que l'Alliance pourroit bien etre encore à Boston; quant à moi, j'ecris à tous les ministres collectivement, et individuellement.

Le general partira pour Rhode island aussitôt que notre exprés sera revenu; je ne doute pas que Mr. de Rochambeau ne fasse son possible pour le bien recevoir, et je suis bien sûr du sentiment qu'il inspirera à l'armée française. Si par hazard il vous arrivoit des lettres, je vous supplie de me les envoyer par un courier particulier, et je vous en promets autant de mon coté. Quelque soit l'officier maritime qui nous viendra, vous ferés bien, je crois, de glisser un mot sur l'importance politique de se prêter à tout ce que le general Washington pourra desirer.

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, agreés, je vous prie, l'assurance du tendre attachement que mon coeur vous a voué pour la vie.

LAFAYETTE

Voulés vous bien faire mes compliments à Mr. de Marbois; il est bien important que la Pennsylvanie s'evertue pour nous donner des hommes; cela ne va pas mal à ce qu'on dit dans la Nouvelle Anglettere, et si la Pennsylvanie fait quelque-chose nous aurons surement nos quinze mille Continentaux.

³⁴ Referring probably to Rochambeau's letter to Washington of January 10, printed in Doniol, V. 401.

³⁵ See Washington to Laurens, January 15, in Ford, *Writings*, IX. 102.

XXXV.

NEW WINDSOR ce 3 fevrier 1781³⁶

Un Vaisseau de soixante et quatorze à la cote, Monsieur le chevalier, et un vaisseau de quatre vingt dix demâté, voilà comme un saint orage vous a accomodé la flotte de Gardner's Bay; celle de Rhode island se preparoit à en profiter, et la nouvelle vient de Mr. de Rochambeau;³⁷ je vous fais mon compliment, et n'ai que le tems de fermer ma lettre. Adieu

XXXVI.

NEW WINDSOR fevrier le 7 1781³⁸

Vous aurés appris, Monsieur le chevalier, par le billet que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire, quelle a été la mauvaise fortune de cette pauvre escadre Anglaise, et le general a du envoyer au president du Congrès un extrait de lettre écrite par Mr. de Rochambeau; depuis cet avis, il ne nous en est point arrivé du general français, mais voici ce que dit le general Knox arrivant de Rhode islande, et qui a pris en chemin d'autres informations.

Il ne paroît pas douteux qu'un vaisseau de 74 n'ait peri sur une pointe de Long island; le London de 90 a été demâté, a, dit-on, jetté une partie de ses canons à la mer, et l'on ne savoit même ce qu'il étoit devenu; l'on ajoute qu'un vaisseau de 50 canons a beaucoup souffert et comme les Anglois avoient sept gros Vaisseaux et deux petits, reste à six en état de combattre, parmi lesquels on ne verra pas le Vaisseau à trois ponts.³⁹

Lorsque le G'al Knox étoit à Rhode island on ne savoit encore qu'imparfaitement cette nouvelle. Le Capitaine Gardner⁴⁰ auquel on a la plus grande confiance, pensoit qu'il étoit dangereux d'attaquer les ennemis embossés à Gardner's Bay; mais après qu'ils auront retrouvé Le London, ils auront difficilement de quoi le remâter, et dans tous les cas, pour peu que l'escadre française ait cette activité à laquelle Mr. Destouche se prepare, nous devons au moins esperer la superiorité maritime.

En attendant que nos lettres fassent impression à Versailles, vous voyés que le ciel a daigné se rendre à nos raisons. Mr. de Rochambeau mande qu'au moins on pourra faire croiser deux Vaisseaux dans Le Sud; Mr. de Lafayette qui est plus jeune espere encore davantage, et le G'al Washington attend pour former un projet quelconque non seulement que la nouvelle soit confirmée, mais que nous sachions à quel point Mr. Destouche en pourra profiter, et s'assurer cette divine superiorité navale. Le toast du quartier general est, puisse Mr. Destouche etre bientôt chef d'escadre!

³⁶ Fol. 220. A. L.³⁷ Rochambeau to Washington, January 21, 1781, in Doniol, V. 405. See *infra*, note 39.³⁸ Fols. 221-223 v. A. L.³⁹ The damage caused to Arbuthnot's squadron by the storm of January 22 was less than Lafayette thought. The *Culloden*, 74, was wrecked but her masts and guns were used in repairing the other vessels. The *Bedford*, 74, was dismasted and had to throw her upper tier of guns overboard, but was repaired in time to take part in the action of March 16. The *America*, 64, was driven out to sea but returned undamaged. The *London*, a three-decker of 98 guns, was not damaged. Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III. 489; Sparks, *Writings*, VII. 403, note.⁴⁰ There were three or four Captain Gardners in the Continental army.

Le G'al Knox a été parfaitement reçu de Mr. de Rochambeau ainsi que de toute l'armée française, et nous est revenu enchanté de leur politesse, de leur discipline, de leur beauté, et de leur excellence en tout genre;⁴¹ le general Howe va partir pour New port, et je lui donnerai des lettres d'introduction; vous savés, Monsieur le chevalier, à quel point mon coeur jouït de tout ce qui resserre les liens de l'amitié, et de l'estime entre les deux Nations. Nous partirons, j'espere, le quatorze ou le quinze, passerons par Lebanon pour y voir la legion de Lauzun, et j'arrangerai à arriver par Providence afin de donner beau jeu aux arrangements de Mr. de Rochambeau. Je donnerai à ce general des avis exacts de notre marche; et je crois que l'armée française ne sera pas mecontente du generalissime. Si Mr. Destouche pouvoit regner sur la côte, ou si nous recevions des nouvelles de France, ce seroit un bontems pour ajuster les grands et petits projets que nous pourrions avoir.

Après ne vous avoir parlé que de nos embarras, Monsieur le chevalier, et de la triste nécessité où nous sommes réduits, je prends plaisir à vous dire ce que nous apprenons de favorable. L'esprit de patriotisme, de haine pour les Anglois, et la determination de soutenir fortement la guerre, brillent dans la Nouvelle Angletterre avec toute la ferveur du premier moment; tous les bataillons seront presque complets, point de deserteurs, l'on peut dire point d'etrangers, chaque fermier s'empresse d'engager son fils au moins pour trois ans, et en tient un autre tout prêt pour l'expiration de ce terme; il en coute cent trente dollars pour un homme, mais la classe qui ne fournit pas paie une amande double de ce qu'a couté l'homme le plus cher; les etats ont aussi donné une gratification aux soldats actuellement au service; tout le monde sera content, et nous aurons une armée Bien Belle, Bien Bonne, Bien Nationale. L'etat de New York se conduit toujours bien; celui de Jersay n'a besoin que d'un petit nombre de recrues, et j'espere que vous stimulerés votre Pennsylvanie. Un emprunt d'argeant, Monsieur le chevalier, des habits, une superiorité maritime et dix mille français, voilà ce qu'il nous faudra pour faire une campagne glorieuse, et raffler la puissance anglaise. Pour un homme qui hait la Nation Anglaise, Monsieur le chevalier, et qui aime la Nation Americaine, il est impossible de ne pas remarquer une gradation frappante. Tous les Pennsylvaniens composés d'anglois et d'irlandois se soulevent generalement; les Jersiens où la proportion est moindre forment une revolte partielle, et toute une compagnie legere refuse d'abandonner son Capitaine; les Nouveaux Angletteriens, tous Nationaux, marchent à travers la neige pour soumettre les mutins, et nous avons appris depuis que malgré nos precautions des sergents revoltés s'étoient glissés la nuit à Ringwood parmi les troupes du detachement, mais en avoient été honteusement chassés par les soldats. Un detachement du C'l Slamnole⁴² revenoit dernièrement du Jersay et passoit par Pompton, mais les soldats se souvenant de la revolte, ont passé au milieu des troupes du Jersay sans vouloir leur parler ni leur repondre.

La poste est si incertaine, Monsieur le chevalier, que j'attendrai le depart d'un officier pour vous envoyer ma depêche Ministerielle, je vous fait de tout mon coeur mon compliment sur la bonne conduite du Maryland et de la Virginie. Quoique très empressé de voir remedier à nos souffrances et envoyer des secours sans lesquels avec toute la volonté du

⁴¹ Cf. Knox to Washington, February 7, 1781, in Sparks, *Letters to Washington*, III. 222.

⁴² Scammell? (Alexander Scammell, colonel of the First New Hampshire.

monde nous ne pourrons pas aller, je n'en vois pas moins avec plaisir le *Spirit* qui semble se renouveler, et les efforts que fait l'Amerique pour la cause commune; j'en conclus, Monsieur le chevalier, que les etats unis seront tous independants, et que les Anglais ne prendront pas ces pauvres rebelles parmi lesquels il en est un surtout qui vous a voué une amitié eternelle.

Mille compliments, je vous prie, à Mr. de Marbois; nous prendrons des informations plus exactes sur ce qui concerne les Hessois, et j'aurais l'honneur de vous en instruire; toutes mes chaines d'espions sont en desordre; les uns ont besoin de detachements pour aller chercher leurs nouvelles, les autres n'osent pas quitter leurs maisons pour venir à New Windsor, et mes oracles sont devenus muets comme ceux des païens; mais quand les diables reprendront la campagne, j'espere avoir de meilleures nouvelles. Dans tous les cas il est difficile aux ennemis de deserter à moins que nous ayons des postes près des leurs; harlem Creek, et les refugies sont une facheuse barriere.

Si j'avois laissé chés vous ou chés Mr. de Marbois une carte du Jersay et Newyork à la main collée sur du papier et déchirée, je vous prie de me l'envoyer cachetée par une voie sur. Personne ne la possede et nous mettrons une grande valeur à en avoir l'exclusion.

XXXVII.

NEW WINDSOR ce 7 fevrier 1781⁴³

La deconfiture Anglaise va si vite, Monsieur le chevalier, que j'ai à peine le tems de faire l'oraison funebre d'un vaisseau, avant que je n'apprene le malheur d'un de ses camarades; vous savés le London egaré sans mâts et sans canons, le Culloden à la côte, et l'Ademant demâté; une lettre de New London nous parle d'un quatrieme vaisseau de ligne, 74 à ce que je crois, lequel ne faisoit que mettre le nez dehors au moment du coup de vent, et s'est trouvé sorti juste ce qu'il en falloit pour perdre ses mâts, sa premiere batterie, et se retirer clopin clopant dans la Baie de gardner, si nous avons nouvelle d'un cinquieme, Monsieur le chevalier, je m'empresserai de vous en faire part, et dieu veuille que chaque heure de ma vie soit employée à raconter le desastre d'un vaisseau de plus, jusqu'à ce que toute la Marine Anglaise y passe, et que j'aie chanté la perte du dernier petit batteau portant le pavillon de St. George.

Lf.

XXXVIII.

NEW WINDSOR ce 13 fevrier 1781⁴⁴

Les details que nous avons eus, Monsieur le chevalier, sur l'etat et la position de l'escadre Anglaise ne sont pas encore aussi certains que je le desirerois; il est cependant sur qu'un vaisseau de 74 a peri, et qu'un ou deux ont été demâtés. Mais je crains que le London ne soit pas de ce nombre, et je ne sais si les mâts du Colloden ne pourront pas encore servir à quelque autre bâtiment. Mr. Destouches a fait passer à Newlondon un officier auxiliaire, et l'a chargé d'aller reconnoitre l'ennemi. Quelques espions ont été sur Long Island et nous aurons bientôt (quoique ce soit un peu tard) des nouvelles circonstanciées.

⁴³ Fol. 226. A. L. S.⁴⁴ Fols. 227-228. A. L. S.

Si l'escadre française est égale, je voudrais bien qu'elle mit les ennemis à portée de combattre; si elle est supérieure et ne peut rien faire contre Gardner's Bay, il seroit à désirer qu'elle allât toute entière dans la Baie de Cheseapeake. Si elle pouvoit y demeurer assés longtemps supérieure, nous ferions l'effort de fournir un détachement Americain.

Les succes du sud sont glorieux autant qu'utiles; mais le G'al Greene m'écrit une lettre confidentielle⁴⁶ par laquelle je vois que sa situation est des plus facheuses. Malgré les derniers avantages il croit avoir beaucoup à craindre, et parmi l'immensité de ses besoins, le premier article est de la Cavalerie. Il seroit bien avantageux qu'on put arracher à Mr. de Rochambeau la legion de Lauzun. Ce dernier est ici, et desire vivement aller en Caroline.

S'il vient des nouvelles, monsieur le chevalier, je ne doute pas de votre bonté à les envoyer à Newport par un courier. Nous partons le 16, dinerons le 19 avec Lauzun, serons le 22 à Newport, et le general en repartira le 26 ou 27 pour New Windsor. Pour moi, je resterai quelques jours avec mes amis de Rhode island et de Boston.⁴⁶

La dernière affaire de Morgan ne laissera pas que de confirmer en France notre opinion sur les soldats Americains et je ne puis vous exprimer le plaisir que cette affaire m'a fait. Il eut été charmant que la legion de Lauzun en eut été, mais on entendra pas nos *Hints*, et le general est avec raison fort éloigné de presser un pareil article.

Adieu, monsieur le chevalier, agréés l'hommage de mon tendre attachement.

LAFAYETTE

Je vous envoie copie de ma lettre à Mr. de Vergennes,⁴⁷ et vous prie de faire partir l'expédition chiffrée par quelque occasion dans votre canton; vous y trouverez un petit bout de lettre relatif à la dernière affaire. Mes compliments, je vous prie, à Mms. de Marbois, Charlus, et Dillon.

XXXIX.

NEW WINDSOR ce 15 fevrier 1781⁴⁸

Le duc de Lauzun part ce matin, Monsieur le chevalier, et Mr. de Ste. Même⁴⁹ nous est arrivé hier au soir; je suis bien empressé de vous faire passer les nouvelles qu'il donne, et le tresorier de notre armée qui naturellement doit voyager très lestement, se charge de vous porter ma lettre à Philadelphie.

Un batiment des isles arrivé à Newlondon dit que notre Gouverneur de St. Vincent ayant vendu l'isle à l'amiral Rodney, les anglois étoient venu l'attaquer avec grande confiance; mais Mr. de Bouillé informé du complot avoit eu le tems de faire mettre le gouverneur aux fers, et d'en

⁴⁵ Cf. Greene to Washington, January 24, 1781, in Sparks, *Letters to Washington*, III. 214. "Les succes du sud" refer to Tarleton's defeat by Morgan at the Cowpens, on January 17.

⁴⁶ The intended visit to Newport was not made. On February 20 Washington gave Lafayette command of a detachment sent south to attack, and if possible capture, Arnold. See instructions of Washington to Lafayette, February 20, 1781, in Sparks, *Writings*, VII. 417.

⁴⁷ See *supra*, note 33.

⁴⁸ Fols. 229-229 v., 233 (the letter is bound incorrectly). A. L. S.

⁴⁹ Comte de Sainte-Mesme (Saint-Maime, Sainte-Même), later Maréchal du Muy. He was at this time colonel of the regiment of Soissonnais.

nommer un autre qui a reçu la descente à coups de canon, et après avoir tué deux cent hommes aux Anglois, les a forcé de se rembarquer. Le Commandant infame qui, j'espère, appartient à la Brigade irlandaise, mais qu'une personne connoissant les isles croit être un creole qui la campagne avant dernière avoit un petit corps, a été transféré dans une fregate à la Grenade et puis à la Martinique.⁵⁰

Le même bâtiment dit aussi que Rodney avoit eu le projet d'attaquer la Grenade mais qu'avec son activité ordinaire Mr. de Bouillé s'étoit porté sur cette isle et y avoit conduit un renfort de quatre cent hommes.

Je joins ici, Monsieur le chevalier, la copie d'une lettre de Mr. de St. Simon⁵¹ à Mr. de Ste. Mème; cette lettre ressemble beaucoup à celle qu'il a écrite à Mr. de Rochambeau et qui nous a été envoyée par le general. Vous verrez que l'expédition de Pensacola est au fond du golfe du Mexique et l'armée de don Navia, réduite à six mille hommes, ne se met pas encore en mouvement.⁵² Vous verrez que notre seconde division arrive par la Martinique, mais qu'elle n'y étoit pas encore; il y aura trop de troupes et de vaisseaux aux isles pour que l'amiral Rodney puisse s'occuper beaucoup de son confrere Arbuthnot.

Nous avons enfin, Monsieur le chevalier, un état sur et exact des forces anglaises à Gardner's Bay. Tout ce qui leur reste sur les côtes y a été réuni, selon toute apparence, et d'après le compte officiel envoyé par les généraux français et dont je vous fais passer copie,⁵³ les anglais ont cinq vaisseaux de ligne et un de cinquante, ce qui fait au plus six contre sept, et en supposant que le vaisseau perdu se retrouvât, il ne feroit qu'augmenter l'embarras du Bedford et la nécessité de perdre beaucoup de tems pour les trainer à Newyork. Je ne sais encore sur quelle échelle les généraux français jugeront à propos de manœuvrer, mais il me semble que toute notre escadre peut se promener ou elle veut.

Excusés, Monsieur le chevalier, l'étourderie qui me fait envoyer cette lettre en deux volumes, et agréés l'assurance de mon tendre attachement.

LF.

Je n'écris pas à Mr. de Marbois, ni beaucoup à Mr. de Charlus par cette occasion-ci, mais je vous prie de leur faire mes compliments et de leur dire mes nouvelles.

XL.

NEW WINDSOR ce 19 fevrier 1781⁵⁴

Reçus mes remerciements, Monsieur le chevalier, des nouvelles que vous avez la bonté de me mander; l'arrivée du Vicomte de Rochambeau⁵⁵ mettra les Ministres à même de préparer un plan de campagne; dieu veuille qu'il nous procure plus d'activité, et détermine une bonne fois

⁵⁰ Rodney made an attempt on Saint Vincent on December 15, 1780. See Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III. 479. The Marquis de Bouillé was governor of the Windward Islands.

⁵¹ The Marquis de St. Simon, stationed at Santo Domingo.

⁵² Referring to the expedition against Pensacola under Bernardo de Galvez which had been scattered by a storm and forced to reorganize at Havana. Pensacola was finally captured on May 9, 1781.

⁵³ Rochambeau to Washington, February 3, 1781, in Doniol, V. 410.

⁵⁴ Fols. 231-232 v., 224-225 v. (incorrectly bound). A. L. S.

⁵⁵ The Vicomte de Rochambeau was the son of the Comte de Rochambeau. He had been sent to France after the Hartford conference to represent to the ministry the need for further aid and to endeavor to hasten the departure of the second division. It is his arrival in Paris that is here referred to.

la fin de cette guerre; tout changement en Allemagne m'effraie. J'aime pour le present qu'on y soit d'humeur pacifique, et l'imperatrice reine usoit toujours de son influence pour que tout restat tranquille. Vous jugerés mieux que moi de l'effet que sa mort peut produire.⁵⁶ Les dix mille hommes projetés pour Mr. de Rochambeau ne déplairont pas à ce General; il peut en jouir d'avance comme nos Catholiques alliés anticipent la prise de Gibraltar; j'espere que Mr. de Rochambeau aura du moins un grand Morceau de l'armée demandée; mais Gibraltar ne s'entraînera pas si facilement.

Cette lettre-ci, Monsieur le chevalier, vous sera remise par notre Quartier Maitre General,⁵⁷ et je puis en toute sureté vous faire confidence des projets du General Washington qui doivent etre particulièrement secrets pour reussir.

Par une lettre de Mr. de Rochambeau⁵⁸ nous avons appris que la totalité des forces ennemies se monte à sept vaisseaux dont un hors d'état de servir, ce qui les reduit à six vaisseaux dont un de cinquante canons contre les sept vaisseaux bien frais et reposés de Mr. Destouches. Le general français mande qu'en consequence de cette superiorité l'on enverra soit quelques bâtiments soit la totalité de l'escadre dans la Baie de chesapeake, et que la destruction d'Arnold paroît être un objet très important.

Le General Washington a repondu⁵⁹ que l'importance d'une tentative contre Arnold étoit d'autant plus grande qu'elle auroit beaucoup d'influence sur les operations de la campagne prochaine; l'escadre française n'étant jamais plus sûre de la superiorité qu'en se tenant ensemble, il à presumé que Mr. Destouches se determineroit à sortir avec tous ses vaisseaux. Mais comme la nouvelle position d'Arnold le met à portée de remonter ses bâtiments sous la protection de ses canons, le succès de Mr. Destouches dependant ou d'une surprise, ou du hasard qui feroit sortir Arnold, il n'y auroit qu'un moyen de le rendre certain, celui d'une cooperation terrestre.

Le general fait part à Mr. de Rochambeau qu'il enverra d'ici un detachement de douze cent hommes à Head of elk, et si l'escadre croit à propos d'operer, ce dont il ne peut pas etre juge, ne connoissant rien aux affaires Maritimes, il regardoit comme necessaire d'envoyer quelque artillerie de Rhode island.

Il paroîtroit même important à nos succès que Mr. de Rochambeau put envoyer un detachement de mille hommes avec l'escadre; mais le general dit qu'il ne peut porter aucun jugement sur cet article, attendu qu'il ne connoit pas les defenses de Rhode island, et le nombre d'hommes necessaires à la parfaite sureté de ce poste.

Le general mande aussi que pour arrêter son projet il attend les reponses de Rhode island, mais que l'inconvenient de faire inutilement marcher un detachement pour quelques jours n'étant pas à comparer à l'avantage de sauver du tems en cas d'expedition, les troupes se mettront en marche le vingt pour Morristown.

Par cette lettre, Monsieur le chevalier, le General abandonne entièrement à ces Messieurs la poursuite, ou la condamnation du projet.

⁵⁶ Referring to the death of the Empress Maria Theresa, on November 29, 1780.

⁵⁷ Colonel Timothy Pickering?

⁵⁸ Rochambeau to Washington, February 3, 1781, in Doniol, V. 410.

⁵⁹ Washington to Rochambeau, February 15, 1781, in Ford, *Writings*, IX. 139.

L'ignorance d'affaires Maritimes donne à Mr. Destouches toutes les facilités de refuser son escadre; *l'ignorance de la situation des defenses à Rhode island* et toutes les autres expressions de cette lettre laisse toute liberté à Mr. de Rochambeau et lui ménage tous les moyens de refuser honnêtement; cela n'est pas si sûr, mais je l'aime bien mieux; il n'est pas si interessant de prendre Arnold et quinze cent Hommes que de conserver l'air du zeile de leur part, et d'entretenir la plus parfaite harmonie.

Mais depuis cette premiere lettre le General a receu des avis de Virginie et de Philadelphie. Depuis le coup de vent Arnold se fortifie à Portsmouth; si l'on ne le detruit pas toutes les forces de Virginie seront conservées dans ce quartier là, et le general Greene resistera difficilement à une armée deux tiers plus nombreuse que lui. Nous sommes donc plus persuadés que jamais de l'importance de l'expedition; mais d'après les calculs faits, et l'assurance de trouver du gros canon à Philadelphie, le general pense que nos forces Continentales jointes à la Milice suffiront seules pour l'objet terrestre; d'après cela, Monsieur le chevalier, le General vient de recire à Mr. de Rochambeau⁶⁰ que s'il trouvoit le moindre inconvenient à envoyer des troupes et de l'artillerie, nous regarderions comme suffisant d'avoir la protection navale; que si profitant de sa superiorité, Mr. Destouches nous donnoit la sureté de traverser la Baie en partant d'Head of Elk ou nous embarquerons et si nous n'avions pas à craindre un renfort de troupes de New York, le General leur devoit le succès d'une expedition très importante.

Il est possible que la premiere lettre souffre des difficultés, mais celle-ci me paroît bien simple, et tant que Mr. Destouches aura au moins sept contre six, il seroit facheux qu'il refusat de sortir pour assurer notre operation. La lettre du general lui laisse toute facilité mais j'espere qu'il se determinera à tenir la mer.

Le detachement partira demain; il est composé de trois bataillons de 400 hommes sous les Colonels Vauce [*sic*], Gimat et Barber,⁶¹ Mr. de Gouvion⁶² fait les fonctions d'ingenieurs, et le C'l Stevens⁶³ part pour preparer le detachement d'artillerie. C'est moi qui commande ce corps, et qui prendrai en Virginie le commandement general des troupes Americaines.

Si Mr. Destouches ne refuse pas de nous proteger à notre passage dans la Baie, et s'il promet au general de profiter de l'etat de la flotte anglaise, j'espere vous embrasser à Philadelphie le 1er. ou le 2 de Mars et prendre vos ordres pour le general Arnold.

Notre destination est un profond secret, et tout le monde croit aller à Staten island ou Bergen Neck; je vous prie de vouloir bien avoir l'air de tout ignorer à cet egard, et de faire seulement part de ma confiance à Mr. de Marbois lors de son retour.

C'est une drôle de chose que de nous voir voyager; nous n'avons pas un sol, pas un cheval, pas une charette, pas un brin de foin. Je suis precedé d'une troupe d'executeurs accompagnés de soldats montés sur les chevaux du premier venu pour en aller prendre d'autres. Nous vivrons d'industrie et marcherons au depends du voisin jusqu'à Head of

⁶⁰ Postscript dated February 19, of letter cited in note 59.

⁶¹ Colonel Joseph Vose of Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat, a French volunteer, and Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Barber of New Jersey.

⁶² Jean Baptiste Gouvion, engaged as engineer officer by Franklin and brevetted colonel by Congress.

⁶³ Ebenezer Stevens, lieutenant-colonel 2d Continental artillery.

elk. On dit que [quand] la reponse de Rhode island arrivera nous enverrons saisir des batiments, de façon que nous irons et viendrons par mer et par terre aux depends du prochain et dans tous nos arrangements, il n'a pas seulement été question d'avoir un shilling.

Il faut que le general soit bien convaincu de l'importance de l'expédition pour se saigner autant ici. Je joins une lettre pour Mr. de Charlus, en cas qu'il ne soit pas parti, et je serois charmé qu'il fut revenu à Philadelphie lors de mon passage. Mais je ne voudrois pas qu'il y eut rien d'affecté parceque je suis toujours sur de le trouver en chemin, et que le moindre indice donneroit des soupçons. Je joins aussi un quadruplicata de ma dépêche; vous en avés déjà receu un exemplaire, et deux autres partent par l'Alliance et le Rambler de Boston.

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, excusés mon griffonage, je suis pressé d'envoyer ma lettre, et ne prendrai que le tems de vous embrasser.

LF.

Je vous ecrirai dans peu de jours

XLI.

ELK ce 7 Mars 1781⁶⁴

Je ne pouvois pas quitter plutôt Philadelphie, Monsieur le chevalier, et encore, y a-t-il quelques articles qui traînent; mais cependant j'ai bien fait d'arriver ici, et rien n'étoit préparé pour l'embarquement; nous avons à present trente batteaux, on dit que les autres arrivent, et quoique les vents, le tems, et les chemins semblent arrangés exprés contre nous, j'espere que nous pourrons etre enfin embarqués demain au soir. La sottise chose, Monsieur le chevalier, que de faire des expéditions à crédit et de passer son tems à prendre par force le bien du prochain, ou à lui demander la charité. Si vous nous faites prêter de l'argeant, nos affaires iront d'elles mêmes, et il n'y aura que du plaisir à conduire les operations.

Celle-ci cependant, Monsieur le chevalier, n'est pas encore retardée par nous, et si vous en exceptés quelques bruits vagues, je n'ai rien entendu dire du *Romulus* et les fregattes ses compagnes.⁶⁵ Le Baron de Stubens⁶⁶ m'écrit du 1er. Mars et m'attend avec trois à quatre mille hommes; Gouvion a éprouvé toutes les malencontres possibles, et s'est enfin débarqué le quatre à une assés grande distance d'Hampton. En supposant qu'il arrive le six, je puis avoir de ses nouvelles demain au soir et si nous avions aussi la fregatte, ma petite flotte mettroit à la voile apres demain; jusqu'ici c'est moi qui suis l'amiral, notre plus grand vaisseau est de 12 ou 16 canons et n'est pas encore arrivé.

Je vous envoie, monsieur le chevalier, un quadruplicata que je vous prie de faire partir par quelque occasion; faites, je vous prie, mes compliments à Mr. de Marbois et agréés l'assurance de mon tendre et sincere attachement.

LF.

⁶⁴ Fols. 234-234 v. A. L. S.

⁶⁵ The British vessel *Romulus* was captured by a squadron of one vessel and three frigates under de Tilly, which under orders from Destouches made an excursion to the Chesapeake in February.

⁶⁶ Major-General von Steuben had been left in command in Virginia by Greene.

XLII.

ELK ce 8 Mars 1781⁶⁷

L'amitié de Mr. de Rochambeau pour moi, monsieur le chevalier, en a plus fait que n'en a jamais pu faire sa confiance; il a su que je devois commander l'expédition, et dès ce moment les dangers se sont évacués; plus de nécessité pour garder les vaisseaux, plus de besoin des troupes pour defendre Rhode island, toute l'escadre marche, les grenadiers, les chasseurs, des detachements, enfin un corps de 1100 hommes, et pour y mettre plus de grace vis a vis de moi, l'on me donne l'honneur de cooperer avec le plus ancien officier general, le Baron de Viomenil.

Tout cela est superbe, Monsieur le chevalier, et les mechantes gens avoient bien tort de dire que Mr. de Rochambeau fait à ma jeunesse l'honneur de la jalousier; le seul petit inconvenient est que les generaux français trouvent de l'impossibilité à nous envoyer une fregatte ici; le general Washington m'a mandé⁶⁸ qu'il croïoit interessant à la sureté de l'expédition, et à l'honneur des armes Americaines que nous arrivions là bas, et dans l'esperance d'etre à Rhode island avant le depart de l'escadre, il a monté sur le champ à cheval pour se rendre à cette place.

Je ris de l'arrangement dans ce qu'il a de personnel à moi, et suis bien aise que nous aions enfin trouvé un moyen d'embranler Mr. de Rochambeau, d'autant mieux qu'il a décidé cet envoy depuis qu'on lui a dit n'en avoir pas autant de besoin qu'on croïoit d'abord. Mais j'espere qu'il ne refusera pas de nous envoyer chercher, attendu que s'il reussissoit les americains auroient une jalousie bien fondée d'avoir été laissés là après une marche si fatigante et à deux journées du point d'operations; s'il étoit repoussé, il y auroit des disputes très desagrees.

Pour prevenir tout cela, je vais entasser mon monde et les conduire à la garde de dieu jusqu'à Annapolis, et je risquerai ma personne dans un petit bateau pour aller causer avec Mr. de Viomenil; je crains que les deux Barons⁶⁹ s'entendent mal, *I feel* pour les francais, les Americains, et moi-même. La lettre du general est pressante et son depart prouve qu'il entend le projet de Mr. de Rochambeau.

Ceci doit etre secret exceptés pour Mr. de Marbois, et vous en sentés la consequence pour moi.

Charlus trouve que ceci ressemble beaucoup à Closter Camp.⁷⁰

XLIII.

WILLIAMS BURG ce 23 Mars 1781⁷¹

Vous serés affligé, Monsieur le chevalier, de la tournure qu'ont pris nos affaires; c'est au moment ou nous esperions le plus une heureuse cooperation que l'arrivée de l'escadre anglaise est venu detruire tous nos projets.⁷²

⁶⁷ Fols. 235-236. A. L.

⁶⁸ Washington to Lafayette, March 1, 1781, in Ford, *Writings*, IX. 177.

⁶⁹ Vioménil and Steuben.

⁷⁰ Battle of Clostercamp or Klostercamp, October 15-16, 1760, in which de Castries (father of Charlus) defeated a force of Hanoverians.

⁷¹ Fols. 237-238. A. L.

⁷² The French fleet left Newport for the Chesapeake on March 8; the English squadron under Arbuthnot sailed from Gardiner's Bay on the 10th, caught up with the French and engaged them off Cape Charles on the 16th. The British squadron, gaining the advantage in this action, was able to secure control of Chesapeake Bay and the French returned to Newport. Clowes, *Royal Navy*, III. 489-492.

A Annapolis nous avions douze cent hommes Continentaux, ici cinq mille hommes de Milices et il en arrive tous les jours, provisions, bœufs, chevaux, artillerie, tout étoit ramassé en quantité mais avec de grande dépenses; j'apprends le vingt qu'une flotte paroît; comment ne pas écrire que c'est l'escadre partie le 8 de Rhode island; les ennemis eux mêmes y ont été trompés; et sans pouvoir deviner ce que sont devenus les français, nous ne savons rien si non que les anglais sont dans la Baie avec douze vaisseaux ou fregattes et que notre operation est selon toute apparence manquée.

Le general Greene qui mandoit dernièrement au Baron de Steuben que son sort dependoit de notre succès ici a risqué une action avec Cornwallis dans laquelle l'espoir d'être débarassé d'Arnold avoit sûrement part. Il a été defeat, car il a perdu le champ de bataille et du canon, mais s'est retiré en bon ordre à dix milles et continuoît à faire excellente contenance.⁷³

Je resterai ici deux ou trois jours, mais le detachement a ordre de se tenir prêt à quitter Annapolis. Sa composition rend absolument necessaire qu'il se reunisse à la grande Armée. Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur.

Mille Compliments, je vous prie, à Mr. de Marbois.

XLIV.

OSBURN'S ce 9 avril 1781⁷⁴

Ma situation, monsieur le chevalier, ne laisse pas que d'être un peu gênante; quand je regarde à gauche voilà le general Phillips avec son armée et le commandement absolu de James River; en tournant à droite l'armée de lord Cornwallis s'avance à toutes jambes pour m'avaler, et le pis de l'affaire est qu'en regardant derriere moi je ne vois que 900 hommes de troupes Continentales, et quelques miliciens tantôt plus tantôt moins mais jamais assés pour n'être pas complètement rossé par la plus petite des deux armées qui me font l'honneur de leur visite. Le general Phillips étoit la nuit dernière à Brandon au sud de James River à trente cinq milles d'ici et me fait encore craindre pour Richmond; lord Cornwallis a fait l'autre jour son entrée dans Hallifax 80 milles d'ici et au train que va sa seigneurie je m'attends à lui voir à tous moments faire son entrée dans mon Camp; le general Greene est devant Camden. Il a eu avec lord Rawden une action longtems disputée, mais n'ayant que des rapports vagues je vois seulement que les retranchements de Camden ne seront pas sitôt emportés, et comme le general Waine est encore bien loin, je n'ai secours à espérer que — — de mes jambes dont je compte faire un usage convenable. Pour achever la plaisanterie on me mande de partout que le general Clinton vient se mettre de la fête; me voilà donc proscrit par ce triumvirat mais n'étant pas aussi eloquent que Ciceron ce n'est pas la langue que ces messieurs me couperont.

Me voici dans l'ancien camp des ennemis, possesseur du quartier et du lit du general Phillips mais trop poli pour ne pas le lui rendre aussitôt qu'il en aura besoin; quelques milices sont sur le côté nord de James River, et j'ai tant bien que mal établi ma communication sur la protection de Richmond; je vais aussi établir une communication [à] appamatox

⁷³ The battle of Guilford Court House, March 15.

⁷⁴ Fols. 239-240 v. A. L.

ou le general Phillips a brûlé le pont de Peters Burg mais elle sera tant bien que mal; nous n'avons point de batteaux et ce n'est pas le premier sujet de plainte dans un païs ou il n'y a point d'armes. Le peu de milices que nous aurions est inutile faute de fusils, et c'est avec grand peine que nous pouvons avoir des cartouches.

Cette armée-ci auroit besoin de six semaines de repos pour arranger les departements, mais nous sommes tellement sur le qui vive qu'il m'est difficile de faire le metier de quartier maitre, Commissaire, intendant etca, etca, etca. Si le general Phillips compte marcher son sejour est une faute et comme nous n'avons pas d'heures à perdre j'ai profité du tems qu'il nous donne pour embarrasser sa marche et assurer un peu mieux nos mouvements; mais tout cela se reduira au triste honneur d'être battu et aneanti quelques jours plus tard. Ce pauvre Richmond que nous avons sauvé pourrait bien éprouver la vengeance de Phillips; quoique ma situation ne soit pas merveilleuse, je ne puis m'empêcher de sourire à la ridicule figure que nous ferons contre ces deux messieurs reunis, et de la mine qu'auront nos dragons de milice sans pistolet, sans épée, sans selle, sans bride, et sans botte, contre les Simcoes et les Tarletons.⁷⁵ Votre amitié, monsieur le chevalier, desiroit de me voir general de ce qu'en Amerique on appelle une armée; faites moi donc votre compliment, car je ne suis gueres dependant du corps etabli à 300 miles de moi et dont nous ne pouvons même pas avoir une lettre; je dois même avoir double de plaisir car j'ai un generalat à deux faces et la consolation de penser que quand une des deux armées seroit aneanti l'autre suffiroit pour me battre à platte couture; ce qui m'impatiente le plus est le denüement de toutes choses, le manque total de ressources, la lenteur d'execution qu'on est forcé de rencontrer dans cette partie-ci du Continent; d'un autre coté l'on ne sentira pas tant le desavantage que nous donne l'infériorité navale, et quand je suis obligé de consulter les circonstances politiques, de tâter le poux [*sic*] du peuple, on me jugera comme si j'agissois en Allemagne.

Pendant ce tems la fregatte que je *montois* est à Philadelphie et Madame Craig que Mr. de la Touche⁷⁶ *Courtise* finira par ammener pavillon; je n'ecris ni à Mr. de Marbois, ni à Mr. de la Touche ni à mes amis de l'armée française; je n'ecris pas non plus à Versailles etant fort occupé ici. Faites leur mes compliments et agréés l'assurance de mon attachement.

Pour l'amour de dieu envoyés nous les Hussards de Lauzun.

XLV.

ELK ce 10 Avril⁷⁷

Je viens de tant griffoner, Monsieur le chevalier, que je ne vous ecrira ce matin que quatre lignes; Mr. de Charlus vous aura dit tout ce qui a rapport à notre expedition; il y a du malheur, mais point de faute, quelques personnes voudroient que les français eussent poursuivi, ou bien qu'ils fussent partis plutôt; mais tout le monde rend justice à leurs intentions à leur conduite pendant le combat, et la Virginie et Maryland sont sur cela aussi justes que la Pennsylvanie.

⁷⁵ Lieutenant-Colonels T. Graves Simcoe and Banastre Tarleton were the cavalry commanders in Cornwallis's army.

⁷⁶ De la Touche-Tréville, commanding the *Hermione*.

⁷⁷ Fols. 241-242. A. L.

Les ennemis semblent faire exprès de redoubler leurs depredations pour faire sentir leur presence dans la Baie. Toutes les lettres que je reçois parlent d'incendies et de cruautés. Le gouverneur de Maryland me mande que les bâtimens ennemis remontent le pottowmack et doivent brûler Alexandria. Il craint pour Baltimore et Annapolis; je marcherai bien demain de ce coté là, mais la defense de ces rivières est à peu près aussi aisée que celle des rivières qui sont dans la lune. Vous savés sûrement que je pars pour le sud; nos officiers et soldats n'en sont pas trop contents; nous n'avons ni argent, ni habits, ni souliers, ni chemise et dans quelques jours nous en serons à l'ordinaire des pêches vertes; nous avons les pieds déchirés faute de souliers et les mains galeuses faute de linge; quand je dis nous c'est dans toute la force du terme, car je crois mon bagage pris. Mais tout cela ne nous empêchera pas de marcher s'il le faut, et demain nous nous mettrons en marche pour executer les ordres du general qui croit ce parti necessaire.

Adieu, monsieur le chevalier, mille compliments à Mr. de Marbois, je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur.

Il est dommage que je m'en retourne, car nous aurions vaincu l'escadre anglaise avec deux canons de dix huit mis sur un bateau, ce qui m'auroit fait une reputation Navale.

On pretend que le president du Congres, a receu la nouvelle qu'il venoit un detachement anglois à New Castle. Si cela etoit ainsi il vaudroit autant qu'ils nous envoyassent cette nuit ordre de rester ici, mais j'ai bien de la peine à le croire à moins que le G'al Clinton ne soit devenu fou, ce qui pourroit bien etre car il y a quelque tems qu'il s'amusoit à chasser des Harengs morts avec une meute de chiens courans.

XLVI.

SUSQUEHANA FERRY ce 14 avril 1781⁷⁸

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, me voilà parti et la Susquehana etoit pour moi le Rubicon; je vais courir après le general Philips, mais n'espere pas l'attraper, et soit que je commande en Virginie ou que je forme ma jonction avec le G'al Greene, je ne suis pas près d'avoir le plaisir de vous embrasser. Ce qui m'en fâche est que ceci ne ressemble gueres à la prise de ———⁷⁹ mais le general me mande qu'il n'oze pas confier à des lettres ce qu'il auroit à me dire sur nos operations.

Si la superiorité maritime arrive on peut faire une belle operation à Portsmouth, et si nous avions au moins la flotte avec une addition de troupes Continentales nous embarasserions beaucoup les Ennemis; il faudroit que Mr. de Treville annonçât à son arrivée un grand zele, et proposât de proteger des troupes Americaines et des troupes françaises partout où l'on voudroit; je souhaite pour le bien de la chose, et pour mon agrement particulier que les operations mineures se tournent vers la Virginie.

Vous pouvés compter, Monsieur le chevalier, d'avoir en ma personne un correspondant exact; je compte assés sur vos bontés pour esperer que vous voudrés bien aussi me faire passer les nouvelles et surtout celles de France; adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, agréés l'assurance du tendre attachement que mon coeur vous a voué pour la vie.

⁷⁸ Fols. 243-243 v. A. L.

⁷⁹ New York.

XLVII.

SUSQUEHANA ce 14 avril 1781⁸⁰

Vous etres bien aimable, Monsieur le chevalier, de prendre autant de part à la triste situation de mes soldats et à mon éloignement de la grande armée; il deserte tant de monde que nous serons bientôt réduits à une poignée d'hommes, et tous nos efforts ne pourront pas l'empêcher; ce plan n'est aucunement venu de la personne dont vous avés parlé à Mr. de Gimat, et il n'est pas même à present dans la famille; mais si vous voulés que je vous parle en ami, j'aurois donné mon avis Contre dans le Conseil de guerre.

Les esperances du G'al Washington ne parroissent pas entre nous si brillantes que les vôtres; je crains qu'il n'y ait quelque erreur de compte dans le nombre de nos hommes; sans cela la prise de ———⁸¹ est sûre. Peut être n'aurois-je pas été inutile sur la Riviere du Nord, et jusqu'ici je n'avois pas pu obtenir la permission de m'ecarter, mais on a jugé notre voyage necessaire et je tâcherai d'y servir de mon mieux. Adieu, monsieur le chevalier, je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur.

XLVIII.

ALEXANDRIA ce 22 Avril 1781⁸²

Par le retour du C'l Gouvion, Monsieur le chevalier, vous aurés appris tout ce qui a precedé notre depart de Susquehana ferry.

Votre amitié pour moi m'assure que vous serés bien aise de recevoir de nos nouvelles; les dernieres n'étoient pas brillantes et la situation des officiers et soldats jointe à la nombreuse desertion des premiers me rendoient le voyage du sud encore moins agreable. Mais partout ou l'on est employé, il faut faire le mieux possible, et ma gazette vaudra cette-fois-ci un peu mieux que la dernière.

En passant la Susquehana je mis à l'ordre un petit sermon et en me servant de l'amitié qu'on veut bien avoir pour moi jettai une asperion de deshonneur sur le vice de desertion;⁸³ depuis ce tems deux hommes seulement deserterent et encore furent ils rattrappés; j'en ai fait pendre un et l'autre a été renvoyé au Nord avec un soldat qui avoit fait une forte sottise. A present les têtes des soldats sont tellement montées, que les hommes renvoyés m'ont fait supplier par les officiers de les laisser venir au sud, mais j'ai été inflexible, et un sergent malade qu'on vouloit laisser derriere en pleuroit de douleur au point qu'il a fallu lui permettre de se trainer à notre suite. Huit des anciens deserteurs sont revenus, et disent que les remords de leur conscience ne leur ont pas permis de s'éloigner de nous, de maniere qu'a present un soldat seroit fort choqué qu'on lui proposat de joindre la grande Armée

Depuis une lettre du Baron⁸⁴ datée le 10 avril à Chesterfield Court House je n'ai rien eu d'officiel sur les mouvements de Philips; le Baron me mande qu'il est arrivé avec quinze cent à deux mille hommes et que cette force jointe à celle d'Arnold reste encore à Portsmouth; les arri-

⁸⁰ Fol. 244. A. L.⁸¹ New York.⁸² Fols. 245-246 v. A. L.⁸³ See the substance of these orders in *Mémoires*, I. 267-268.⁸⁴ Cf. Steuben to Washington, April 15, in Sparks, *Letters to Washington*, III. 290.

vans de Richmond et Petersburg disent qu'on y évacue les magasins publics et que l'armée de Philips est attendue dans cette partie.

Le danger de la Virginie et les forces de Philips m'ont déterminé à entreprendre une marche forcée pour arriver à Frederisburg et delà selon toute apparence à Richmond. Mes baggages, tentes et artillerie viennent derriere sous l'escorte d'un detachement, et 300 hommes par bataillon donnant, officiers et sergeants compris, environ 100 combattants s'avancent avec moi en toute diligence; par ce moi en nous pourrons couvrir quelques parties de la Virginie, nous tromperons les calculs du G'al Philips, et comme (quoique me dise à l'oreille l'amour de la popularité) je m'empare à main armée de tous les chevaux et chariots qui nous peuvent en partie transporter d'une ville à l'autre, nos soldats s'amuse beaucoup de cette maniere de voyager. Je suis venu en deux jours de notre camp près Baltimore en passant par le ferry de Georgetown, et deux journées nous transporteront à Frederisburg.

Il faut que je vous fasse part, monsieur le chevalier, d'un arrangement qu'il m'a été nécessaire de faire pour remplir les instructions du General et transporter le detachement; le Board of War m'a mandé qu'il ne pouvoit rien donner, et d'un autre coté le manque de linge et de souliers est tel que sans un secours les soldats ne peuvent pas avancer; ils ne se plaignent jamais, mais comme le manque de chemise donne la Galle, et le manque de souliers surtout dans une marche forcée finit par déchirer le pied, je ne puis pas abuser de leur zele au point de les mettre tous à l'Hopital. Les marchands de Baltimore nous prêtent environ deux mille louis avec lesquels j'aurais les articles les plus nécessaires; c'est moi qui reponds pour le public de cette somme payable avec interests dans deux ans, tems ou je puis vendre mon bien; mais avant ce tems-là je proposerai à nos bons alliés d'*ajouter* cette somme à l'emprunt fait par les etats unis; mille louis envoyés en marchandises en feront l'affaire et par la vente monteront à la somme due avec l'interest; de façon que le Congrès ne sera endetté que pour mille louis; le pis qui en puis arriver est qu'on s'en prenne à moi, et en attendant nous aurons un pantalon, une chemise par homme, quelques chapeaux, quelques souliers, et je viens de faire le même marché pour une centaine de paire de souliers à Alexandria; mais les secours du Board of War n'en sont pas moins nécessaires.

Le General m'écrit le 14;⁸⁵ il me repete qu'il y a des choses qu'il voudroit me dire mais n'ose pas confier au papier; Hamilton arrivoit d'Albany et mande qu'il va quitter la famille. Tous deux disent que d'après les conversations avec Mr. de ———⁸⁶ l'entreprise sur ———⁸⁷ est improbable et dans tous les cas seroit immensément éloignée; que diable aura-t-il donc pu leur dire? Je voudrois bien que vous m'expliquiés cette enigme.

Si l'on coopere contre ———⁸⁸ il paroît que ma personne sera rapellée mais non pas mon detachement. Rester en Virginie me plairoit plus que la Caroline; je voudrois avoir été un quart d'heure au Quartier General; je compte sur vous, monsieur le chevalier, pour me faire passer toutes les nouvelles; écrivés moi je vous conjure, des lettres longues et confidentielles; je vous en promets autant. Le general ne me dit rien de

⁸⁵ Washington to Lafayette, April 14, 1781, in Sparks, *Writings*, VIII. 13.

⁸⁶ Rochambeau.

⁸⁷ New York.

⁸⁸ New York.

l'approche de l'armée française; je me suis fort amusé à Baltimore, et toutes les dames travaillent à me faire des chemises; de façon que je n'ai pas perdu mon temps au Bal.

Mes compliments, je vous prie, à Mr de Marbois; priés le de donner de mes nouvelles à Mr. de Charlus auquel je n'ai pas le temps d'écrire. Voilà une lettre que l'on m'a remis pour vous arrivée par un bâtiment de Cadix qui doit aller à Frederisburg. S'il y a des nouvelles je vous prie de me les faire passer. Les torys marchands de farine sur la Baie de chesapeake . . . [rest of sentence obliterated by binding.]

XLIX.

RICHMOND ce 22 May 1781⁸⁹

Nous sommes encore en vie, Monsieur le chevalier, et notre petit corps n'a pas jusqu'à ce moment reçu la terrible visite; lord Cornwallis est à Petersburg, et a tranquillement passé à travers la Caroline du Nord; il paiera bien un droit de peage pour traverser la Virginie, mais nous ne pouvons pas espérer de faire grande résistance, la proportion en infanterie régulière est entre quatre et cinq contre un, en cavalerie dix contre un; il y a quelques torys dont je ne m'embarasse gueres; notre Milice n'est pas bien nombreuse sur le papier, l'est bien moins encore *in the field*. Nous manquons d'armes, nous n'avons pas cent Riflemen, et si nous sommes battus, c'est à dire si l'on nous attrappe tout se dispersera. La Milice s'emploie avec avantage dans le nord, mais dans ce pays-ci il y a tant de routes qu'à tout moment on prête le flanc ou l'on est tourné; il faut manœuvrer, il faut s'éclairer, et tout cela, (sans Cavalerie surtout) nous est bien difficile.

L'armée de Philips étoit composée de 2300; il a reçu un renfort de Portsmouth, et lord Cornwallis ayant laissé à Wilmington les malades et blessés a joint cette garnison à l'armée qui a combattu le general Greene; voici un ordre de Marche: Tarleton's legion, Hamilton's Corps, 23d, 71st 33d Regiments Anglois, 200 tories, un Regiment Hessois, la Brigade des gardes et infanterie légère, le tout accompagné de six pièces de canon. Tarleton a 300 hommes montés et la Cavalerie de Simcoe augmente tous les jours. On nous mande du bas de la Rivière qu'un nombre de bâtiments de transport escortés par deux fregates sont arrivés dans Hampton Road et remontent à present James River; en vérité ces messieurs abusent de la permission; je voudrais bien savoir, Monsieur le chevalier, si l'on s'attend à me voir *Bien Rosser le fou de Cornwallis*.

Pour l'amour de dieu, mandés moi ce que sont devenus les pennsylvaniens; ils devoient passer le pottowmack avant moi, et si nous avions resté autant qu'eux en chemin les anglois seroient en possession de toute la Virginie; leur jonction avec nous rendroit notre petite Armée un peu plus respectable; nous serions battus mais au moins nous le serions deçement.

Le Baron de Steüben est à soixante milles d'ici et marchera pour le sud avec 400 recrues; il est tellement *Unpopular* en Virginie que je ne suis pas fâché de son départ; mes deux generaux sont Mullenberg et Nelson; j'ai deux autres Brigadiers employés à rassembler des Milices; le G'al Morgan me joindra dans une quinzaine de jours.

La legion de Lauzun, Monsieur le chevalier, nous seroit d'une im-

⁸⁹ Fols. 247-248 v. A. L.

mense utilité; Lauzun desire servir dans le sud, et servir avec moi; si nous avons au moins ses Hussards notre Cavalerie pourroit se montrer, et la Cavalerie fait tout en Virginie; employés votre influence pour nous les faire avoir, et si les Pennsylvaniens n'étoient pas encore partis conseilles leur de se mettre en marche; Seconde division, qu'etes vous devenue? tout le monde me demande tant des nouvelles de la flotte que j'en suis embarrassé; si jamais elle entre dans Hampton Road il faut sur le champ envoyer une fregatte avec pavillon Anglois pour detruire les bâtimens ennemis dans James River; cette fregatte devroit etre accompagnée de deux petits cutters et me donner sur le champ des nouvelles.

Si je peux trouver une occasion de me battre sans etre aneanti c'est à dire de me battre en détail, je ferai un petit paragraphe pour Mr. Dunlop⁹⁰ et en attendant je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur.

Mille compliments, je vous prie, à Monsieur de Marbois.

L.

CAMP PRÈS PAMUNKEY 16 Juin 1781⁹¹

Il y a bien longtems, monsieur le chevalier, que je n'ai eu l'honneur de vous ecrire, il y a bien longtems que je n'ai ecrit au Congrès; cela n'en est pas mieux fait, mais pour le premier article il falloit une occasion, pour le second il falloit une époque; ni l'une ni l'autre ne se sont rencontrées; mais comme il faut faire une fin, je vais ecrire, et demain il partira un exprès pour Philadelphie.

Permettés moi, monsieur le chevalier, de vous renvoyer à ma lettre publique;⁹² j'y dis la verité, mais je ne dis pas tout parceque je suis bon homme; la conduite d'une certaine personne a grand besoin d'*Enquiry*; mais je ne me soucie pas de tout ce tripotage et j'abandonne Ce particulier à l'opinion publique.⁹³

Jusqu'à present, Monsieur le chevalier, Mylord n'a pas reussi à engager une affaire; nous avons pendant longtems eu Tarleton dans notre camp deux Heures après qu'il etoit quitté; il n'y a pas eu un coup de fusil de tiré et la jonction s'est faite avec les pennsylvaniens; j'attendais qu'elle se feroit plutôt, j'attendois qu'ils seroient plus nombreux, j'attendois que 500 hommes de troupes réglées et un corps de milice attaqués par quatre cent hommes dont deux cent armés de sabre defendroient le passage d'une Riviere impassable;⁹⁴ je suis persuadé qu'il a fait pour le mieux, mais en toutes choses j'ai été comme nous disons *dé sappointé*.

Après nous etre assés heureusement reglissés entre l'armée ennemie et nos magazins nous avons fait une jonction avec quelques Riflemen; lord Cornwallis a paru ne pas aimer ces terrains montagneux et s'est retiré du coté de Richmond; nous nous donnons les airs de le poursuivre et mes Riflemen barbouillés de charbon font retentir les bois de leur hurlements; j'en ai fait une armée de diables, et leur ai donné absolution

⁹⁰ John Dunlap, publisher of the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

⁹¹ Fols. 249-252. A. L.

⁹² The "lettre publique" is doubtless a letter to Congress. It does not appear to be among the Continental Congress Papers.

⁹³ Lafayette refers here to Steuben's retreat before Simcoe, and the loss of military stores. See extract of letter from Lafayette to Washington, June 18, in Tower, II. 333.

⁹⁴ See note 93.

pleniére. Ce que j'ai en troupes régulières est fort bon mais peu nombreux; le Baron avoit pris une position fort avantageuse de l'autre côté de Staunton River environ quatre vingts milles du point d'ou il est parti; graces aux remontrances d'un de mes aides de Camp, et de la declaration qu'a fait la milice qu'elle le planteroit là, il se rapproche de James River; cela fera une jonction tardive, et encore serons nous fort inferieurs aux ennemis.

Je donne mes pleins pouvoirs pour la paix, monsieur le chevalier, mais à condition que les *treize* états seront independants; quand au reste, je ne serai pas difficile; quelques bagatelles aux isles et aux indes, quelques arrangements relatifs au departement de la Marine suffiront pour me satisfaire; mais sans l'independance des treize, il n'y a pas de lien qui tienne, nous ne serions pas d'accord. Il me paroît que les ennemis veulent faire croire que les états du sud leur appartiennent; lord Cornwallis dans une de ses lettres jette cette idée en avant comme une chose assés bien établie. Ma conduite vis à vis de lui est calculée sur les mêmes motifs politiques; quand il change de place je tâche que mes mouvements y donnent l'air d'une retraite; dieu veuille qu'il y eut moyen de lui donner l'air d'une defaite. Le Congrès fera bien d'imprimer des extraits de mes lettres; j'y serai exact observateur de la verité; mais cette verité prouvera j'espere que l'état de Virginie n'est pas conquis, et que l'armée Americaine n'est pas aneantie; jusqu'à present nous l'avons echappé, mais si nous ne sommes qu'un peu battus, je serai encore fort content; du moins en perdant du monde, nous tâcherons que les ennemis ne s'en retirent pas sans quelque perte.

Le general me mande, monsieur le chevalier, que Newyork sera vraisemblablement l'objet de la campagne prochaine;⁹⁵ il paroît desirer que je ne remette pas le commandement de l'armée en d'autres mains qu'en celles du general Greene, mais si nous nous rejoignons, je dois alors etre de la Cooperation avec l'armée française; il est si rare, (je dirois même avec quelques uns de mes amis si ridicule) de commander à mon age quelque chose honoré du nom d'armée, que je resterai dans le sud aussi longtemps que je serai opposé en chef à lord Cornwallis; je le dois à la confiance dont le general veut bien me flatter, mais si l'on me debarrasse du terrible fardeau que m'impose le manque absolu de moyens et la superiorité des ennemis je partirai pour la grande Expedition. Dieu veuille qu'elle reussisse; un pareil evenement feroit bien à la paix. Si j'avois les moyens que je n'ai pas pour battre sa seigneurie cela ne feroit pas mal non plus pour la negotiation.

Je m'étois toujours douté qu'à force de dire donnés moi vingt milles hommes on ne nous donneroit rien du tout; graces à dieu, nous aurons un peu d'argent, un peu, je dis, mais il sera bien employé.

Le coeur me bat, monsieur le chevalier, quand je pense à ce traité de paix; d'un côté, je vois l'amerique independante, je vois l'ambassadeur d'anglettere faisant des compliments à monsieur l'ambassadeur des états unis; je vois tous les anglois se mordre les levres quand par inadvertance on prononce le nom d'amerique et de guerre Americaine; je vois les françois et les Americains se tenant sous le bras en pais étranger et passant à côté d'une société d'anglois; enfin il y a mille petites jouissances que je me promets independantes du grand But de la Revolution;

⁹⁵ The intercepted letter of Washington to Lafayette of May 31 corresponds to the letter here referred to. It is printed in Stevens, *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I. 505.

mais de l'autre, je sens que je consentirois à un silence eternel plutôt que de dire la colonie Angloise de Georgie ou de Caroline; j'éprouve même en l'écrivant le sentiment d'un homme qui blasphème pour la première fois.

Vous êtes bien bon et bien aimable de vous occuper de notre petite Armée, je suis bien touché de l'intérêt que vous prenez à elle et à l'homme qui la commande; de bonne foi, je n'ai ni assés d'expérience ni assés de talents pour combattre tant de difficultés; encore si nous étions égaux, je pourrais laisser agir la fortune.

Ma première ligne composée des pennsylvaniens et infanterie légère est commandée par le général Waïne; la seconde composée de milices est conduite par le nouveau Gouverneur Nelson, le meilleur que l'état de Virginie put choisir; les Riflemen et troupes légères sont sous le G^{al} Mullemberg; le G^{al} Weedon est à Frederiksburg pour rassembler en cas d'alarme les milices voisines du pottowmack. J'attends le Baron et les généraux Lawson et Stevens,⁹⁶ mais le Baron est si *unpopular* que je ne sais où le mettre; violà, monsieur le chevalier, le tableau de notre petit corps; lord Cornwallis a des Brigades des gardes, des brigades d'infanterie légère, des Régiments Anglois, des Régiments allemands, je ne sais combien de dragons, enfin tous les grands airs d'une Armée; ils ont fait beaucoup de Wighs sur le chemin, mais presque tout le monde a pris parole. Ceux qui refuseront de prendre les armes seront envoyés aux ennemis.

Nous avons des Commissaires qui me font donner au diable, mais je le leur rends bien; le quartier maître de l'état ma signifié depuis longtemps que je ne devois en rien compter sur lui; chaque département en fait autant, et nous vivons, mangeons, et remuons par artifice; tous ces embarras joints à l'activité de la campagne ne me laissent guères le tems d'écrire en France; je vous prie quand vous aurez des occasions de m'en faire part, et lorsque vous croirez n'avoir pas le tems de recevoir mes lettres je vous conjure de donner de mes nouvelles à Mr. de Vergennes qui voudra bien instruire mes amis; quant au journal de nos opérations en Virginie il n'est pas intéressant à deux mille lieues, et pourvu qu'ils sachent qu'il y a une forte armée Angloise et une petite Armée Americaine en campagne voilà tout ce qu'il leur en faut.

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, je vous embrasse d'aussi bon coeur que je vous aime.

LI.

WILLIAMSBURG ce 9 Juillet⁹⁷

Permettés moi, monsieur le chevalier, de vous renvoyer encore à ma lettre publique;⁹⁸ elle contient la gazette de nos opérations; je souhaite qu'elles soient approuvées à Philadelphie; si lord Cornwallis connoissoit mieux mes forces, il ne me croiroit pas si pressé de lui donner bataille; enfin le voilà de l'autre côté de l'eau. Je rassemble les moyens de le suivre; s'il passe la barrière de Virginie, ma tâche est remplie, et après avoir renforcé le G^{al} Greene j'irai vous embrasser à Philadelphie; adieu, monsieur le chevalier, vous connoissés mon tendre attachement.

⁹⁶ George Weedon, Robert Lawson, and Edward Stevens were brigadier-generals of Virginia militia.

⁹⁷ Fol. 253. A. L.

⁹⁸ Letters of Lafayette to Congress of July 8 and 9 are in the Cont. Cong. Papers (Lib. Cong.), no. 156, fols. 171, 174.

Mille compliments, je vous prie, à Mr. de Marbois; quand vous écrires en France mandés leur que je ne suis pas mort, mais que quand on a 23 ans, une armée à commander et lord Cornwallis devant soi, le tems qui reste n'est pas trop long pour dormir. Les ennemis ont reçu un renfort à Charlestown et Greene se retire à ce que l'on dit, mais je n'ai rien encore reçu de lui.

LII.

MONTCK HILL 14 aoust 1781⁹⁹

Lord Cornwallis est à York et à Gloucester, Monsieur le chevalier, à cheval sur York River, et nous nous sommes mis à cheval aussi à la pointe qui forme la fourche, de cette même Riviere; delà nous pouvons voir arriver des vaisseaux; dieu veuille que nous voyons des vaisseaux à pavillon blanc; les ennemis se fortifient un peu, mais n'ont pas l'air aussi empressé qu'on pourroit croire; peut-etre y a-t-il du grabuge dans le Menage, et alors s'ils n'étoient pas encore décidés, ce seroit bien en vain que nous rompons la tête pour les deviner; si le general Clinton ne veut pas ordonner qu'on detache, il devoit au moins venir prendre ici le commandement; j'aimerois mieux etre debarrassé de lord Cornwallis que du tiers de son Armée; il me comble de politesses, et nous faisons la guerre en *gentlemen*; c'est même le seul gentleman qui ait commandé les anglois en Amerique; mais au bout de tout cela il finira par me donner les etrivières; la deffense de cet etat ressemble au tonneau des danaïdes; le poste d'York met lord Cornwallis en etat de rassembler ses forces et le rendra formidable, la fortune se lassera de nous proteger, et quand je serai tout seul, je serai battu.

Mon dieu, pourquoi n'avons nous pas ici une escadre! Pourquoi n'avons nous pas la legion de Lauzun? J'aimerais mieux 300 Houzards que quinze cent hommes d'infanterie; je pourrois offrir à Lauzun un commandement agreable, et je crois qu'il seroit fort aise de venir; mais je n'espere pas qu'on l'envoie à moins de certain evenement,¹⁰⁰ alors le plutôt seroit le mieux.

Si l'armée francaise pouvoit tomber des nûes en Virginie et etre soutenüe par une escadre nous ferions de bien bonnes choses; si une escadre arrivoit il faudroit qu'elle entrat tout de suite dans la baie; je suis à trente mille par eau et trente cinq par terre d'York et Gloucester et nous pouvons nous porter de l'un ou l'autre coté; mais je n'ose esperer aucun secours etranger, il me paroît encore probable qu'on enverra des troupes à Newyork; mais je n'ai point de certitude sur cet article; les mouvements par eau sont difficiles à connoître depuis que les ennemis sont à York. Portsmouth est beaucoup plus commode.

Oserai-je vous prier, Monsieur le chevalier, de faire mille compliments à Mr. de Marbois et faire passer cette lettre à votre Amie; je l'aime, puis-je dire sans fard, de tout mon coeur; adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, j'espere que vous connoissés mon tendre attachement.

Me voici pour longtems en Virginie; lord Cornwallis est si attachant! Mr. Jefferson refuse, mais si on lui permet de passer plus tard je crois qu'il acceptera; c'est un Homme d'esprit, un habitant du sud, et un Eminent lawyer, trois qualités qui sont en sa faveur.

⁹⁹ Fols. 254-255. A. L.

¹⁰⁰ The capture of New York.

LIII.

CAMP ENTRE LES BRANCHES D'YORK RIVER¹⁰¹

21 aoust 1781

Vous savés tout comme moi ce qu'on attend, Monsieur le chevalier, je me borne à vous dire ou en sont les choses en Virginie

Lord Cornwallis est à York et a un corps de troupes à Gloster; il fortifie cette dernière pointe; il n'a pas encore fortifié York; notre petite armée fait semblant de marcher à gauche, et se portera lestement à droite pour se rapprocher de James River; Portsmouth n'est pas évacué; nous regarderons de tous nos yeux

Adieu, monsieur le chevalier, je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur.

L.F.

Mille compliments, je vous prie, à Mr. de Marbois.

LIV.

HOLT'S FORGE ce 1er Septembre¹⁰²

Recevés mon Compliment, Monsieur le chevalier, et jamais je n'en fis de meilleur cœur; 28 vaisseaux de ligne et 3200 Hommes de troupes auxquelles Mr. de Grasse offre pour un coup de main d'en joindre 1800, voilà l'agréable visite que nous avons dans la Baye; j'avois ces jours-ci manœuvré pour empêcher les ennemis de passer James River et se retirer en Caroline; à présent nous allons nous occuper de la jonction; Mr. de St. Simon a la bonté de dire qu'il sera sous moi; mais d'après le concert qui regnera entre nous, il sera difficile de savoir quel est l'ancien; demain et après demain nous assemblerons un corps en avant de James town ou les transports français remonteront sous la protection de 3 fregattes; le 4 et le 5 on débarquera; le 6 nous serons réunis et prendrons, j'imagine, un poste d'observation; Mr. de Grasse voudroit operer sur le champ; je ne sais pas l'avis de Mr. de St. Simon; le mien seroit d'attendre la reunion de nos forces et j'espere parvenir à en prouver la necessité; il ne faut pas que trop d'empressement gâte un jeu sûr. Mr d'Annemours prendra les arrangements de subsistence et nous tâcherons de pourvoir aux besoins du moment.

Lord Cornwallis n'a qu'un moyen de se sauver; mais il faut remonter jusques près du point of fork,^{102a} et cette possibilité lui est encore enlevée si, comme je l'ai proposé, on force sur le champ la passe d'York. La terre et la mer temoignent un zele charmant, et j'espere que tout ira pour le mieux

Mr. de Portail, Mr. de Gimat, et Mr. de Camus¹⁰³ ont été à la flotte; Gimat remonte la riviere avec les troupes; j'espere apres demain faire une visite à Mr. de St. Simon; les espagnols se sont conduits comme de petits anges; d'ici à quinze jours nous aurons dans la Baie 18000 Hommes et 38 vaisseaux qui ne laisseront pas que de faire un bon effet; notre petite armée est dans la joie, et vous m'avoüerés que je serois degouté si je n'étois pas content; adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur.

Mes compliments, et mon compliment à Mr. de Marbois.

¹⁰¹ Fol. 256. A. L. S.

¹⁰² Fols. 257-258. A. L.

^{102a} Point of Fork, where Virginia had recently established an arsenal, was at the junction of the Rivanna and the James, in Fluvanna County.

¹⁰³ Duportail was chief of engineers in the Continental service, There was a de Camus, ensign of the *Éveillée*.

LV.

WILLAMSBURG 8 7bre 1781.¹⁰⁴

Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur le chevalier, de ne point vous écrire moi même, mais a force de faire le quartier maître, le commissaire, de voler du sel, de presser des boeufs, et de crier pour de la farine, j'ai fini fort maladroitement par me donner la fièvre et la migraine, qui se passera dès le moment que je me permettrai quelques heures de sommeil. Je ne sçai pas si je deperis de vieillesse car depuis deux jours mes vingt quatre ans sont bien sonnées.

L'armée française est débarquée, dans un clin d'œil. Grace aux soins de la marine nos troupes ont repassé la rivière, je ne crois pas que jamais mouvement maritime se soit fait plus lestement que celui des français.

Ce n'est pas sans peine que nous avons pû mettre en marche les troupes; les officiers americains ont donnés leurs cheveux et leurs chariots, avec cela nous avons rassemblé nos forces dans une bonne position a Willamsburg. Votre amitié pour nous Monsieur le Chevalier, sera bien aisé d'apprendre les bontés dont on me comble icy. Mr. le Marquis de St. Simon a bien voulu insister pour etre sans restriction aucune, aux ordres du General Americain; d'après la maniere pleine de bontés dont tous ces messieurs me traitent, je me trouve avoir un commandement que je n'aurais jamais esperé, 3200 hommes composé des dédoublements d'Auvergne, de Bear[n]¹⁰⁵ et du Regiment de Touraine et de cent hussards que je vais monter, 2500 americains reguliers en comptant le bataillon de Maryland qui n'est qu'a un jour de marche, et de la milice qui arrive tous les jours dont une partie est dans le County de Gloucester. Voila Monsieur le Chevalier ce que nous avons ici. James River bien gardée par les batimens armés, ceux qui etoient dans Yorck River au dessous de la ville sont descendus aujourd'huy, peut etre en consequence des nouvelles que vous avés fait passer à M. de Grasse. Cet amiral nous auroit donné 1800 hommes de troupes si nous avions pu attaquer tout de suite. Mais Monr. de St. Simon et moi nous pensons egalemant que le morceau seroit trop dur; Cornwallis se fortifie avec son activité ordinaire.

Si vous avés quelques occasions pour France, Monsieur le Chevalier, oserai-je vous prier d'y mander que je suis en vie. Dans deux ou trois jours je vous depecherai un gros paquet de lettres pour l'Europe. Adieu Monsieur le Chevalier mes compliments à Mr. de Marbois et agréés l'assurance de mon tendre et sincere attachement.

LAFAYETTE

LVI.

CAMP DEVANT YORK ce 30 septembre 1781¹⁰⁶

Enfin, Monsieur le chevalier, nous voici devant la ville d'York, et nos operations vont bientôt devenir bruiantes; une lettre de Mr. de Grasse nous avoit fait craindre sa sortie de la Baïe; je fus député pour en représenter les inconvenients; l'armée navale ne sortira pas, et je revins le 28 au moment ou nos troupes s'avancoient de Williamsburg ici; le 29 a été employé à reconnoître et entourer la place; ce Matin les ennemis avoient évacué leurs ouvrages avancés; ceux de la droite ont été occupés par les

¹⁰⁴ Fols. 259-260. L. S.

¹⁰⁵ It is not clear what is meant here. The writing is not legible.

¹⁰⁶ Fols. 261-263. A. L.

français qui ont eu un officier tué et quelques hommes blessés; ceux de la gauche ont été occupés par nous; le colonel Scamel¹⁰⁷ a été blessé et pris en reconnoissant de trop près. Voilà tout ce qu'il nous en a coûté dans la journée, et l'ennemi se tient dans ses fortifications interieures; il est vrai que ce qu'ils ont évacué ne valoit rien, et ne pouvoit pas même se defendre d'un coup de main; mais aussi nous les approchons plus que nous ne pouvions l'esperer, et nous voyons que l'expédition n'offrira pas de bien grandes difficultés; ceci doit naturellement raccourcir notre journal de quelques jours.

Mr. de Grasse reprendra son ancien mouillage a Linn Haven Bay; tout bien comparé les Marins ont décidé que c'étoit la meilleure position qu'ils pussent prendre; ils nous promettent de bien fermer la porte ou de faire un mauvais parti à ce qui entrera; j'ai été enchanté de la franchise et de la bonne volonté de notre Amiral; il desire emmener le plus de vaisseaux possible, et a de grands projets pour la suite de la campagne; si ceci finit vite, je voudrois bien qu'il put nous prêter encore quelques jours d'assistance pour quelque operation dans le sud soit grande soit petite.

Il paroît que nous n'aurons point de vaisseaux au dessus d'York dont bien me fâche; mais nous en aurons trois au dessous avec deux fregattes; les ennemis enverront l'autre jour cinq Brûlots sans aucun effet; le G'al Weedon avec 1500 Milciens, Lauzun avec sa legion, et Mr. de Choisy¹⁰⁸ avec 600 Hommes qu'il a été chercher à la flotte, sont pour le present les seules troupes du coté de Gloucester; il est vraisemblable qu'on en fera passer quelques unes d'ici.

Par une lettre du G'al Jones de la Caroline du Nord j'apprends que le G'al Greene a eu une affaire tres vive avec le C'l Stuart;¹⁰⁹ le Commencement ne nous reussit pas bien mais la fin nous fut très avantageuse et comme le C'l Lee avec quelques autres troupes etoient detachées, comme le lendemain après la jonction on entendit recommencer une affaire, nous esperons que ces bruits assés bien fondés seront suivis par la nouvelle d'un avantage très decisif; on parle même de couper le corps Anglais; mais sans trop nous livrer à l'espoir je ne doute pas que le G'al Greene n'ait eu quelque grand succès contre ce Stuart que lord Lawdon¹¹⁰ m'a dit luimeme avoir laissé en Caroline pour commander les troupes hors de la ville; en revenant de la flotte je m'arrêtai à bord de la Dili-gente, et le hazard me procura l'honneur de souper avec sa seigneurie.

Quand les paquets de Mr. de Grasse pour l'Engageante vous arriveront, je demanderai la permission d'y joindre les miens que je tiendrai tous prêts en consequence. Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, vous recevrez exactement mes bulletins; je suis charmé qu'ils me donnent une occasion pour vous repeter l'assurance de mon tendre attachement.

Mille compliments, je vous prie, à Mr. de Marbois.

¹⁰⁷ Colonel Alexander Scammell, who was wounded and captured on September 30, and who died on October 6.

¹⁰⁸ Claude Gabriel de Choisy, in command of a brigade at Yorktown. He invested Gloucester and defeated Tarleton.

¹⁰⁹ The battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8.

¹¹⁰ Rawdon. Lord Rawdon had been captured at sea by the French, on his way from Carolina to England.

LVII.

CAMP DEVANT YORK ce 3 octobre 1781.¹¹¹

Votre gazetier n'a rien à dire de bien intéressant, Monsieur le chevalier, et nous sommes encore occupés à débarquer l'artillerie; on a fait accommoder en notre faveur les ouvrages que les Anglais nous ont laissés; on a reconnu les autres, et nos calculs ne sont aucunement décourageants; dès que nous aurons tiré le premier coup de canon, nous pourons remettre à une quinzaine le plaisir de tirer le dernier, au moins de ce côté-ci de la rivière;

L'officier français¹¹² qu'on croioit tué en sera quitte pour une cuisse coupée. Notre perte jusqu'à présent se borne à une douzaine d'hommes; les anglais tirent peu, et nous ne repondons point du tout; les ingenieurs se promenant comme des sorciers en faisant des cercles autour du pauvre lord Cornwallis et les officiers generaux braquent leur lunettes en attendant l'instant d'avoir la tranchée.

On a proposé encore de faire remonter des vaisseaux. La reponse est arrivée, et je vais le savoir au quartier general, mais comme le Docteur part, je le charge de ma lettre et vous ecrirai par toutes les occasions. Beaucoup de chevaux ont passé d'York à Gloucester; serois-ce une visite de Tarleton a la legion de Lauzun? Bien des gens craignent qu'une partie des ennemis ne s'échappe par terre; d'autres rient beaucoup de cette idée; je ne la trouve pas probable, mais je ne la trouve pas impossible; si nous avons des vaisseaux au dessus de York, alors je crois ce mouvement à peu près impraticable; il y a tout à parier que nous les prendrons, et vous pouvés, monsieur le chevalier, à mon avis concevoir de belles esperances.

Si Mr. de Grasse renvoie tout de suite l'Engageante c'est une belle occasion pour ecrire; je joindrois mes paquets aux siens et à ceux de Mr. de Rochambeau; en attendant voici un vieux paquet que je vous prie de faire passer soit par l'Engageante soit par la premiere bonne occasion; Bien entendu qu'il faut en cas de malheur jeter à la mer; je vous envoie aussi une grande quantité de lettres dont j'ai été chargé par la division de Mr. de St. Simon.

Si ceci finit bien, monsieur le Comte, je pourrois vers le milieu de decembre faire une petite visite en France mais je voudrois bien avoir l'Hermione; j'en ecris à Mr. de Grasse et vous manderai sa response; je ne demanderai de congé que dans le cas ou je pourrois me rendre plus utile là bas qu'ici; ceci, s'il vous plait, entre nous.

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, agréés je vous prie l'assurance de mon tendre attachement

Mille compliments à Mr de Marbois.

LVIII.

CAMP DEVANT YORK ce 12 octobre 1781.¹¹³

Je vous demande pardon, monsieur le chevalier, si votre gazetier n'ecrit pas aussi souvent qu'il le desireroit; mais n'étant ici que trois Majors generaux il y a deux jours d'employés à monter ou à descendre la tranchée, et je ne vais gueres que le troisieme au quartier general d'ou

¹¹¹ Fols. 264-265 v. A. L.

¹¹² De Bouillet, an officer in the regiment of Agénois.

¹¹³ Fols. 266-267 v. A. L.

partent les exprés, attendu que le G^{al} Washington passe presque tout son tems à voir les progrès de nos ouvrages.

La premiere parallele s'est ouverte sans perte aucune, et nous avons établi un bon nombre de bouches à feu en batteries; une bombe a brûlé le Charon et quelques autres bombes ont brûlé des batiments de transport; la nuit derniere on a ouvert sans plus de perte la seconde parallele, et nos nouvelles batteries auxquelles on va commencer de travailler aujourd'hui battront les ouvrages de maniere à les mettre bientôt en très mauvais état.

Lord Cornwallis tire peu, et paroît manquer de gros canons, peut être même de poudre; il se reservera donc pour le tems ou nous serons plus près de lui; quelques personnes parmi lesquelles j'ai l'Honneur d'être ne croient pas impossible qu'il ne finisse par passer à Glocester pour prolonger de quelques jours, mais si comme il l'a dit il veut attendre l'assaut, il le recevra probablement à York; dans tous les cas, ses moyens et ses ouvrages sont trop foibles pour que ses talents et sa bravoure l'empêchent d'être à nous avant le mois de Novembre.

On est impatient, et on crie apres les ingenieurs; les troupes des deux Nations s'ennuient de la lenteur des approches, et l'on demande d'abreger en emportant tel et tel point l'épée à la main, mais le general qui voit son succès assuré, est décidé à ménager le sang de ses troupes; on n'emploiera la vive force qu'en cas de necessité; et alors je crois que nos attaques seront Brillantes.

Il y a une petite attaque à la droite des ennemis qu'on a donné au Rgt. de Tourraine; les douze autres bataillons francais montent avec les Americains; il y a un Marechal de Camp et un Major general chaque jour; le plus ancien commande, et d'après cela vous verrés, monsieur le chevalier, que je finis fort agreablement ma campagne.

Il y [a] toujours trois vaisseaux au bas de la Riviere; j'espere qu'on va se décider à les faire remonter au dessus d'York; on ne craint aucunement les batteries, mais on est inquiet sur les brûlots. C'est un grand point pour nous d'avoir les vaisseaux, et j'espere qu'avec des precautions la Marine se mettra hors de danger contre ses brûlots; s'il le faut même, nous pourrons bientôt brûler les transports.

Adieu, monsieur le chevalier, mille compliments à Mr. de Marbois; vous connoissés mon tendre attachement.

Nos tués et blessés ne passent gueres la trentaine, tant françaïs qu'americains.

LIX.

CAMP DEVANT YORK ce 16 octobre 1781¹¹⁴

Voilà notre seconde parallele bien établie, Monsieur le chevalier, et dans cinq ou six jours les ouvrages de la place ne laisseront pas que d'être passablement molestés; la soirée d'avant hier a été fort agreable; les ennemis avoient deux redoutes assés detachées, mais fortes qui nous convoient parfaitement; on a formé deux attaques, celle de droite par l'infanterie legere Americaine, celle de gauche par des grenadiers et chasseurs françaïs; vous sentés que le cœur me battoit pour la reputation de mon infanterie legere; le Baron de Viomenil avec la colonne françaïse a fait enlever la redoute la baïonnette au bout du fusil; l'attaque des Americains n'a pas été moins prompte; ils n'avoient pas un fusil chargé, et se sont conduit également bien; de façon que chaque parti n'a

¹¹⁴ Fols. 268-268 v. A. L.

eu que des compliments à se faire, et la même nuit nous avons appuyé notre seconde parallèle à la redoute des americains qui est sur la Riviere; Cette petite attaque nous epargne plusieurs jours, et donne à nos batteries les plus grands avantages.

Les troupes francaises qui ont été destinées à monter dans leur redoute etoient commandées par le Comte Guillaume des Deux Ponts; il a été blessé legerement à la fin de l'attaque; le C'l de Lameth¹¹⁵ est blessé plus grievement; le Bataillon de Gimat marchoit le premier de notre coté; il a été blessé au pied mais point d'os cassé; Hamilton et Laurens etoient les deux autres Colonels du parti attaquant, et ces trois chefs se sont conduit brillamment; nous nous etions promis de rendre l'affaire de New london;¹¹⁶ mais l'humanité de nos soldats leur a fait oublier leurs menaces, et le Major Campbell ainsi que tous ceux qui ne se sont pas echappés ont été mieux traités qu'ils ne meritoient. Les francais ont eu environ 70 tués ou blessés, et nous une quarantaine parmi lesquels plusieurs officiers blessés.

Je m'etends sur cette petite affaire; non pour sa valeur intrinseque, mais parceque j'en mets une grande à ce que ces deux attaques faites au même instant quoique separées aient reussi de maniere à bien etabliir l'estime mutuelle, et je sais que cette circonstance vous fera grand plaisir.

Les ennemis ont fait cette nuit une sortie peu considerable; tout ce que j'en sais est qu'il y a une fausse attaque sur les Americains, une vraie sur les français, quelques tués et pris de part et d'autre; on dit quelques canons encloués; les grenadiers de reserve sont arrivés, et les ennemis ont été repoussés; voilà ce qu'on m'a dit comme j'arrivois à la premiere parallèle avec les premieres troupes que j'avois rassemblées du Camp, et je suis revenu pour griffonner mon petit bulletin; il part dit-on un exprés; je n'ai pas le tems d'aller au q'er g'al parceque je suis aujrd. de tranchée. Adieu.

Mille complimt. à Mr. de Marbois.

LX.

A BORD DE L'ALLIANCE ce 22 decembre 1781¹¹⁷

Ce soir ou demain, Monsieur le chevalier, et dans vingt jours nous arrivons en France; je suis sûr d'avoir vos bonnes prieres, et en revanche j'espere vous envoyer de bonnes nouvelles; il n'y en a point à Boston qui vous puisse interesser; je m'etois proposé de deviner Mr. Temple,¹¹⁸ mais il est si bon, qu'il a pris beaucoup de peine pour m'en eviter; c'est un ennemi, mais il n'est pas dangereux; au lieu de le combattre, il faudroit le chasser; on l'a mis dans les mains de l'attorney general, et son procès va se faire; mais peutetre la lettre de la loi le sauvera, et d'ailleurs je serois fâché qu'on le pendit, parcequ'il n'en vaut pas la

¹¹⁵ Charles Malo, Comte de Lameth, wounded in both legs in the assault.

¹¹⁶ The "affaire de New London" was the attack by Arnold on New London and Groton, on September 6. See Trumbull to Washington, September 15, in Sparks, *Letters to Washington*, III. 403. This passage is interesting in view of the charge, later made, that Lafayette ordered that no quarter should be given.

¹¹⁷ Fols. 270-271 v. A. L.

¹¹⁸ Sir John Temple, son-in-law of James Bowdoin. For the suspicions entertained respecting his visiting America at this time, see *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Feb. 27, 1782, and letter of John Adams in Wharton, IV. 638.

peine, et que je respecte son beau pere. Mon avis est qu'on le traite comme prisonnier anglais, et que le Congrès decide de son sort. Ce n'est pas ce qui peut lui arriver de plus heureux, mais c'est ce qu'il y auroit de plus sûr et de plus impartial. Vous savés combien j'aime Boston, et ce n'est jamais sans quelque regret que je le quitte; Mr. d'Etombes¹¹⁹ y a été fort honnête, mais (entre nous) j'ai peur que vis à vis le pouvoir civil, ou les français de Boston, il n'estime un peu trop les prerogatives consulaires. Comme c'est un excellent homme, si mon soupçon étoit juste, il ne seroit besoin que de les lui expliquer.

Presentés, je vous prie, mes hommages à toutes vos amies; je vous souhaite une continuation de succès dans les negociations dont M. de la Touche vous a chargé; j'espere qu'à son arrivée il aura trouvé l'affaire faite.

Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, agréés les assurances de mon amitié; elle est bien sincere, bien tendre et ne finira qu'avec ma vie.

Mandés leur bien de nous donner de l'argent.

Nous mettons à la voile, Monsieur le chevalier, et avant de partir je veux vous dire que M. le Consul de France est venu hier me parler de son affaire; il me paroît que le malheureux est tourmenté par une cabale de français qui peut-être lui savent mauvais gré de les empêcher de voler; Mr. d'Etombes est un fort honnête homme et j'aurois voulu lui donner des conseils; mais ne connoissant rien à ses droits, ni au fond de l'affaire, j'ai fort approuvé qu'il n'allât pas en avant sans vos ordres, et qu'il consultât pour sa future conduite deux avocats et surtout le docteur Cooper;¹²⁰ il me paroît bien interessant que tout le monde s'entende sur la portée des prerogatives, mais je crois que le pauvre Mr. d'Etombes prend la chose plus serieusement qu'elle n'en vaut la peine; Mr. Hancock vous écrira peut-être à *private letter* et je l'ai approuvé en cela, pour que vous sachiez ce que pense le pouvoir civil. Adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur.

LXI.

PARIS ce 12 avril 1782¹²¹

C'est un convoi qui part, Monsieur le Chevalier, et c'est Mr. de Segur qui vous remettra cette lettre; voilà deux raisons pour qu'il soit inutile de vous mander des nouvelles, mais j'en trouve beaucoup davantage pour me rappeler à votre amitié, et vous dire combien je souhaite nous embrasser à Philadelphie. Si je n'étois retenu par les affaires de l'Amérique, je me reprocherois de ne pas retourner par la première occasion; mais dans la situation et dans l'incertitude actuelle, je crois être moins inutile à notre cause en restant en Europe qu'en retournant dans le Nouveau Monde; je vous envoie, Monsieur le chevalier, une lettre de Mde. de Cassini dont l'affaire nous est fort recommandée par M. de Maillebois; mille tendres compliments je vous prie à Mr. de Marbois; Rappelés moi au souvenir de nos amis et Amies, et faites mention de moi à la famille en déjeuner assemblée; adieu, Monsieur le chevalier, je merite l'amitié dont vous m'honorés par celle que mon cœur vous a vouée pour la vie.

¹¹⁹ Létombe, consul at Boston.

¹²⁰ Probably Dr. Samuel Cooper.

¹²¹ Fols. 272-272 v. A. L.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain: leur Condition Juridique, Économique, Sociale. Par JEAN JUSTER, Docteur en Droit, Avocat à la Cour d'Appel de Paris. In two volumes. (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1914. Pp. xviii, 510; viii, 338.)

THE magnitude of the task which the author has undertaken in an investigation of the legal, economic, and social condition of the Jews in the Roman Empire down to the reign of Justinian can be appreciated only by those who from investigations of their own in this field know something of the complexity of the problems, the nature of the sources, and the immense and scattered special literature. On a part of the ground he had as a precursor the learned work of Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (fourth ed., 1901-1909); but for the whole period and for the side of the history which Juster makes the main end of his research he has no predecessor, and even where he is on the same ground with Schürer he approaches the problems from an entirely different point of view.

The first thing to be said, then, is that we have before us a work of vast erudition and of prodigious labor. The sources are mustered to the last scrap of papyrus from an Egyptian dust-heap. The bibliography professes completeness only on points that have been insufficiently studied, for the rest a critical selection; but the selection is so ample a collection that it would be hard to find anything of consequence to add to it. What is more, it is evident on every page that the author has made use of a great part of the literature whose titles he registers. He brings to his enterprise other qualifications than laborious erudition: an advocate at the bar of the court of appeals in Paris, he is learned in Roman law by profession, and has at the same time a knowledge of Jewish law derived from Talmudic studies; it is this indeed that gives especial value to his study of a subject which has hitherto been investigated almost solely by theologians.

An introduction on a large scale (pp. 1-212) deals with the sources—literary (Jewish, pagan, and Christian), monumental (numismatic, epigraphic, papyri), and juridical—concluding with an excursus on the distribution of the Jews in the empire and their numbers. Under the head of juridical sources there is a thorough discussion of the documents (decrees of the senate, edicts of emperors and provincial officials, referring to the Jews) preserved by Josephus, over the genuineness of some of which and the date of others there has been much controversy; a table on pages 158-159 arranges them in their probable chronological order. The laws concerning the Jews in the jurisconsults and the codes are also enumerated and chronologically ordered (pp. 160 ff.). The

excursus on the Diaspora exhibits the most complete list it is possible to make of the places in the several provinces in which the residence of Jews is attested by authors, inscriptions, or papyri; the evidence itself is given in full at the foot of the page. Of the whole number of Jews in the empire in any century of this period only very uncertain estimates can be made, as Juster is perfectly aware. He is inclined to put the figures, say under Tiberius, at six or seven millions, and at about the same for the beginning of the second century before the decimating wars under Trajan and Hadrian. In this estimate, which is considerably higher than most, he seems not to apply a sufficiently high divisor to the incredible numbers of Josephus, who assembles three million pilgrims in Jerusalem at the Passover and claims for Galilee two hundred cities of above 15,000 population. In allowing Palestine alone more than five million inhabitants Juster is probably giving it much more than its proportion even of his own excessive total, and an impossibly dense population.

Coming then to the body of the work, after a preliminary discussion of the peculiar privileges accorded to the Jews in the exercise of their religion, the reasons for these concessions, and their history, the author takes up the general subject of the legal position of the Jewish communities in the dispersion and of their religion, the policy of the state toward them under the pagan emperors, and the changes in this policy after Constantine. The legislation about Jewish propaganda, conversions to Judaism, circumcision, and—after the church came to control the religious policy of the state—the laws against participation of others than Jews in Jewish worship and festivals, are fully treated. An excursus of some length (pp. 290–337) is devoted to the rival missionary enterprises of Jews and Christians, and particularly to the large Jewish influence—partly imitation, partly antipathy—upon Christian catechesis, creed, and liturgy. The matter is not strictly pertinent, and takes us somewhat far afield into the history and literature of creeds and rites. The author has evidently been much interested in this digression, in which the extent and significance of Jewish influence are, however, much exaggerated.

Returning to the subject with the protection given by the state to Jewish worship, the exemption of the Jews from the worship of the emperors, or, as Juster prefers to put it, the forms of worship they were allowed to substitute for it, claims attention. In this matter the Jews had what we might call the vested rights of a national religion, while the Christians, when they refused to offer sacrifice or burn incense to the ruler, had none. Various other privileges and immunities are enumerated, such as not being cited to appear in court on Sabbaths and festivals, exemption from military service, and the like. The central organization of the Jews in the empire with its head, the patriarch, and his subordinates; the local organization; the Jewish community as a legal person and its rights, its officers, and institutions fill the rest of the first volume.

The second volume deals with the status of the individual Jew in pri-

vate and public law at different periods and in the complex situations arising from diversities of the *status civitatis*, the jurisdiction of Jewish tribunals and the extent of their competence in Palestine and in the dispersion, and conflicts or compromises of jurisdiction between them and the other courts. Under this head the author subjects to analysis and criticism the narratives of the New Testament about the trial of Jesus, Stephen, and James the brother of the Lord, in the light of Jewish law and of the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin under Roman administration (II. 133 ff). The discussion will doubtless especially interest students of the New Testament. Juster contests the common assumption—based, indeed, on an explicit statement in the Gospel of John (xviii. 31)—that the Sanhedrin had not the power to pronounce and execute the sentence of death under Jewish law in case of religious offenses; and he points out that, if it had not the power to execute the sentence, the procedure would have been to obtain from the procurator a confirmation of the sentence and a warrant to carry it out in their own way; whereas Jesus was brought before Pilate on a political charge, and was condemned and executed as a political offender, without any reference to Jewish law or to a previous trial before the Sanhedrin. The natural inference is that the hearing of Jesus before the high priest and the others whom he summoned was not a trial at all, but was held only for the purpose of framing an accusation to lay before Pilate.

On this point, as on several others, Juster controverts Mommsen. A peculiarly interesting case is the status of the Jews throughout the empire after the suppression of the revolt and the taking of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Mommsen in his article on "Religionsfrevel nach Römischem Recht" (1890) maintained that after that event the law recognized Judaism only as a foreign religion; the Jewish nation had ceased to exist, and the civil status of all Jews was that of *dediticii*. Most Romanists have adopted Mommsen's opinion, and theologians have naturally deferred to their authority. This thesis Juster combats with arguments from both law and history. It is not for laymen to meddle in a controversy between lawyers, but the fact that Mommsen is constrained to set aside as false the testimony of Josephus that Vespasian and Titus rejected the petitions of the Alexandrians and the Antiochians to deprive the Jews of their rights of citizenship in those cities, and the fact that there is no reference anywhere to the effects of such a radical change of status upon the thousands of Jews who were citizens of Greek cities, permit the historian to doubt whether the whole Jewish people was thus degraded into the class of *peregrini dediticii*. The importance of the question lies in another: Were the Jewish communities after 70 A.D. no more than voluntary religious associations, legally on the same footing with the innumerable *collegia* for one purpose or another which the law recognized and regulated? On this point also Juster differs from Mommsen, holding that they were in the eye of the law local communities of the Jewish people and their synagogues local seats of the worship of the national God.

There is much else of varied interest in these volumes which can not here be detailed; it must suffice to mention in conclusion a chapter on Jewish names, and the chapter on the economic situation of the Jews—occupations, wealth, and the like—and the influence of the laws on this situation.

In the preface the author announces the preparation of a volume of indexes, which are necessary to make fully available the wealth of learning accumulated in this remarkable work and the publication of which will add to the debt of gratitude scholars already owe him.

GEORGE FOOT MOORE.

The Evolution of Early Christianity: a Genetic Study of First-Century Christianity in Relation to its Religious Environment. By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, of the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature, University of Chicago. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1914. Pp. ix, 385.)

WHILE religion has long been seen in the light of historical evolution, the interconnection of early Christianity and other religious currents has rather recently become a matter of serious discussion. After the interesting contributions of French scholars like Havet and Boissier, the topic lapsed somewhat until the wealth of knowledge accumulated by classical philologists and students of comparative religion constrained theologians, particularly in Germany, to engage in the debate. One result is that enterprising young adherents of a *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* not only interpret the development of Christian worship and practice by reference to analogies in pagan religion but even begin to essay a modern reconstruction of the form and statement of Christian doctrine to correspond with the new view of origins. These efforts to see the beginnings of Christianity in relation to a general religious environment have been somewhat groping and confined to details, while the new American contribution now made by Professor Case of Chicago deserts all piecemeal discussion for a broad statement of Christian origins as "the enrichment of experience and the evolution of ideas and practices under the influence of contemporary religions" (p. 34). The point at issue is clearly put: "The primary activity which called the Christian movement into existence was not the *ab extra* insertion of some other-worldly quantity of ritual, doctrine, or ethical instruction into the realm of human experience, but an outburst of spiritual energy on the part of Jesus and his followers striving after new and richer religious attainments under the stimuli of a new and more suggestive environment." "These attainments must be estimated in terms of various individuals' response to their religious environment, their direct reaction upon their own peculiar world, and their personal conquests in the realm of spiritual experience." Dr. Case does not limit attention therefore to incidental analogies between Christian and other religious expressions or determine the possibility of the specific influence of cult upon cult. He shows the total

content of environment as tending to just those forms of religious conception which became the dominant characteristics of Christianity.

In a preliminary way Dr. Case sketches in broad, rapid outline the total cultural situation due to the expansion of Hellenism and to the Roman unification of a Hellenized world, the situation conditioning such catholic movements in religion as succeeded nationalistic types. Later chapters present more fully the result of intensive study of these religious tendencies, indicating their moulding influence on the Christian mission. In the meantime the vital connection of Christianity and Judaism and the developmental differentiation of the two furnish an illuminating and delicately judicious discussion. In this Dr. Case holds a golden mean between those who like Achelis emphasize rather exclusively the continuity with Judaism and those who like Bousset construct even Paul's conceptions in terms of adaptation to the Hellenistic world. The discussion serves indeed as a critical review of the brilliant and seductive argument of Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*.

Such a presentation obviously depends for its effect on constructive power in mastering the bewildering welter of ancient religion and on a power of sympathetic divination which can seize upon religious values in vanished forms and relate them thus to spiritual attitudes which the Christian comprehends by right of birth. Of such power the book is a shining example, as may be instanced by the chapter on the religious significance of emperor-worship. It is made to seem an historical inevitability that the Jewish Messianic movement associated with Jesus should lose its original national character and proclaim Jesus as an imperial authority with a kingdom of a spiritual and external order, as a deity by mystic union with whom believers had assurance of immortality, as mediating an emotional experience of the supernatural, as a beneficent power tranquillizing superstitious fears, as centre of a sacramental system congenial to pagan habits. The victory of Christianity is thus a case of satisfying the needs of the society in which it spread.

This admirable fruit of scholarship and historical comprehension is written in a clear sober style without literary gesture. It has a wealth of bibliographical annotation which will be of value to every special student of the subject, and the proportions and form of the presentation commend it to the general reader.

It may be doubted whether Dr. Case is equally satisfactory in his first chapter, where before arguing the moulding power of environment he sets aside the notion of a static Christian "essence" as containing from the beginning all that should be unfolded and expressed. This polemic has weight against an intellectualistic notion of "essence" as a sum of ideas, but just as he himself seems to reserve religion *per se* as an original activity not compounded out of other elements, so probably he would concede that Christianity as a high form of religion must have as a really central element psychologically the purer consciousness of this religious relationship. Distinguishing thus between the intuitive experience of

the religious object and its symbolic expression, we may be allowed to view the question of "essence" in a form incongruous with that which governs Dr. Case's antithesis of static and developmental. But this concerns the philosopher rather than the historian.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

Customary Acres and their Historical Importance. Being a series of unfinished Essays by the late FREDERIC SEEBOHM, Hon.L.L.D., Litt.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1914. Pp. xiii, 274.)

DURING his last illness, Mr. Seebohm devoted himself to grouping as coherently as possible the notes made in connection with his latest researches and the result has, with cautious apology, been published by his son. Although both writer and editor were well aware of the incompleteness of the work, they rightly surmised that it would be of value to scholars—at least a contributory "essay", as Mr. Seebohm modestly liked to consider all his books.

One readily sees how he came to give attention to customary acres. Being primarily interested in the economic history of the pastoral and agricultural community, he began more than thirty years ago to inquire what light could be thrown upon its development by a study of its so-called "shell". This shell was the expanse of open field round the settlement. To explain its character he wrote what is still perhaps his best-known chapter, the one which describes the three-field system as it was practised in 1819 in his native village of Hitchin. Resorting thereafter to this type of agrarian organization as a standard for comparison, he investigated earlier and more remote usages, until, by inferring a long-continued and intimate connection between field systems and the fortunes of the community which employed them, he became the champion of the early origin of manorial lordship. After establishing, as it seemed to him, the conclusion that the open-field system in one form or another acted for centuries as a preservative shell for a tribal or village community, he next inquired whether additional arguments could not be derived from a study of the units into which a villager's holding was divided, the customary acres scattered throughout the arable fields. The book before us is the result.

As a matter of fact, the author's investigations have brought to light nothing new about the development of manorial lordship. On the contrary they have taken him afield from that topic and, as they stand, relate rather to another subject upon which he has often dwelt before. This is the character and extent of early Celtic economic usages. For the somewhat slender connecting thread of these chapters is the influence exerted by Celtic rent-paying units of tenure, and the extent to which Celtic units of linear and superficial measure can be traced throughout western Europe.

Of these two themes the latter receives more consideration. Starting with the old British mile, which is identified with the Gallic *leuga*, the author discovers that one-tenth of it constituted the length of the British customary acre. In shape this acre was ten times as long as broad, as is the entirely distinct English statute acre. With the customary acre is next identified the Armorican acre or arpent used across the Channel; both had the same superficial content, but in shape the latter was only five times as long as broad. To make the necessary adjustment, the length of the Armorican acre was so reduced that it became one-tenth of the half-diagonal of the square *leuga*. This relationship between the lengths of superficial units, whose content was the same but whose shapes were respectively one by ten and two by five, the author finds recurring in other regions of Europe and to it he often reverts in his explanations.

Having argued that, despite its double manifestation, there was a typical British-Armorican acre, Mr. Seeböhm makes a pilgrimage throughout Europe to discover traces of it elsewhere. In the course of this journey we are introduced to much recondite learning. For the author examines the shape and dimensions of European acres from the Baltic to Spain and from the Black Sea to Cornwall. This dictionary of customary acres constitutes perhaps the most valuable and enduring part of the book. The generalizations, however, which become possible at the end of our progress are somewhat vague. The British-Armorican customary acre has appeared only sporadically—in Bavaria, near Venice, on the plains north of the Black Sea. Elsewhere one finds another acre, its length based upon the subdivision of a different unit of itinerary measure, the parasang. Upon these observations the author builds the hypothesis that the British-Armorican acre was the creation of the Celtic people, who, as they moved westward across Europe, left traces of their passage in the survival of this acre. In their last home on the western coast it was naturally most persistent.

The trend of such a thesis is to emphasize the importance of Celtic custom in European economic life. In keeping with this attitude are the opening chapters of the book, which have little enough concern with customary acres. They are rather a study of the areas occupied by tribute-paying groups in Ireland and Wales, the unit area being that adapted to a plough team of eight oxen and a herd of twenty-five cows. What interests the author here is the possibility that the English hide may have been derived from some such unit as this and may illustrate in its history the transition from a pastoral state of society to one of more intensive tillage. For would it not be natural that, with the growing preponderance of agriculture, the Celtic unit should shrink to the English one, and the herd of twenty-five cows dwindle to four, while the plough team remained unchanged?

It may be that we are left unconvinced by certain of the author's arguments. One feels, at times, that there is some clever sleight of

hand about the interpretation of linear and superficial measures, that, for example, the identity of the British and Armorican acres is not so complete as to unite them in contrast with most of the other acres of Europe. But the book is a stimulating one; and the differentiation between various customary acres, especially such broad distinctions as that between long acres, resultant from ploughing with the heavy plough, and square ones, resultant from cross ploughing, are of great importance. The presence of long acres, near Venice, for example, in the midst of a region characterized by Roman cross-ploughing, is significant. In its scope and erudition, the work is a fitting epilogue to the writings of a scholar who will always be remembered as the first to give due attention to the significance of Celtic custom in the early life of Europe.

H. L. GRAY.

A History of England and Greater Britain. By ARTHUR LYON CROSS. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. xiii, 1165.)

THIS is a text-book of more than usual importance. In the first place, it is intended specifically for college use, and there are very few college text-books of English history. Secondly, it is a scholarly work, of much thoroughness, detail, and critical judgment. Thirdly, it brings the narrative more closely down to date than any other text-book now in print. It is in the main a political history, describing the development of political and, as might be anticipated from the special knowledge and interests of Professor Cross, legal history, with such attention to ecclesiastical and economic matters as is necessary to make clear the sequence and significance of political events. On the other hand a much broader treatment of history has been introduced by means of seven or eight general chapters scattered through the book, each describing as a whole the period of which the consecutive events have just been detailed. In these excellent general chapters trade and industry, social customs, art and architecture, science, learning, and literature are treated with much fullness and interest.

We confess to finding these chapters much more interesting than those which go between and make up so much the larger part of the book, and believe that they are not only more interesting but more valuable to the student. Is it possible for anybody to remember, or indeed understand, so many detailed political changes as are described in the narrative chapters of this book? Fifty-two persons are introduced by name during the thirteen years of the reign of George I., seven statutes are either explained or alluded to, and nineteen treaties, changes of ministry, or political negotiations are described. This period is chosen simply at a venture. Professor Cross does his work of detailed narrative with great skill and mastery of the subject. But is it practicable to teach students so many things and is it desirable to make the effort?

If this chapter is typical, and there is no reason to doubt it, a student going through this book of about 1100 pages is introduced personally to something over one thousand persons, and expected to understand and even possibly to remember approximately five hundred groups of events in the nature of treaties, party combinations, the passage of statutes, or other negotiations. In real life this would be the experience of a busy life-time, not of what cannot reasonably be expected to fill more than one-tenth of a student's waking time during one year.

To obtain an enlightening and broadening familiarity with as many facts as this in such a length of time as this is in the reviewer's belief impossible. If only a short period of history is studied in one year, the question becomes not so much one of possibility as one of relative desirability; whether political changes of a minor kind have been sufficiently momentous, and the personalities sufficiently interesting, and whether their comprehension is sufficiently educative to justify putting time in on them rather than on some other things.

But these are criticisms of detailed political history as a subject of college study rather than of Professor Cross's excellent guide to such study. We are, however, somewhat inclined to doubt the wisdom of his habit of stating the main outline and significance of the events of the oncoming period at the beginning of each period. The dramatic effect of meeting events as they come is lost, and the duplication of treatment, once in general statement and again in narrative, may be confusing to the somewhat unintelligent student, if he is to be considered.

The bibliographical suggestions after each chapter are helpful and the index full. The dozen maps are useful if not handsome. It is quite remarkable how closely the material has been brought down to the very date of publication, and how the author has managed to bring in some mention of so nearly every matter of interest among the multitude of affairs of the last few years. A student who approximates a thorough knowledge of the contents of this book has a large and exact body of information concerning English history, and has had many lessons of industry and retentiveness in obtaining it.

English Economic History: Select Documents. Compiled and edited by A. E. BLAND, B.A., P. A. BROWN, M.A., and R. H. TAWNEY, B.A. (London: G. Bell and Sons. 1914. Pp. xx, 730.)

ONE of the first impressions received upon an examination of this book is its freshness and originality. Notwithstanding the deprecatory statement of the authors in their preface, that they have not consciously followed the "lure of the unprinted", yet a very large proportion of the 334 documents which it includes are as unhackneyed as they are apposite and suggestive. They have been found in many connections, more largely from charter rolls, legal records, chancery proceedings, local and private records, reports of Parliamentary committees, contemporary litera-

ture, and personal correspondence than from the statute book or greater documents of central government. Industry, ingenuity, and a feeling for reality are clearly shown in the discovery and choice of these documents.

An almost equally strong impression obtained is of the fullness and continuity of the documentary record of this phase of English history. No secondary work, not even the monumental work of Cunningham or the skillful outline of Ashley, recently published, to which the authors refer, makes more clear the characteristics of successive periods or the sequence of changes. It is possible by means of these selections, accompanied only by a few paragraphs of explanatory matter at the beginning of each section, to give a practically continuous narrative of the whole course of England's economic history.

Lastly, the material is interesting. The authors modestly acknowledge the precedence of constitutional and political history and the greater dignity of the collections of constitutional documents of Stubbs, Prothero, Gardiner, and Robertson. But it is to be noted, in the first place, that the two branches of history often coalesce, and it is moreover hard to see how any student upon entering on the documentary study of English history could fail to find that these documents concerning the life of the people made more of an appeal to his interest than those which explain the organization of the government. The restriction of the collection to the period before 1846 was probably necessary from motives of space. Moreover, books like Hayes's *British Social Politics* serve the same purpose for certain more recent periods and subjects. Nevertheless it is a pity not to be able to follow the story down to the present in the same form. It would show more effectively than can be done in any other way the gradual revolt against *laissez faire* ideals and the trend to a more interested, enlightened, and humane policy in the settlement of economic and social problems.

There is a certain element of sadness in many of the later documents. Not only do they give poignant testimony to the reality of much distress, but they indicate how readily much of this distress might have been avoided. The testimony of far-sighted and broad-minded men like Owen and Peel and the protests of Oastler show that the arguments which finally led to the adoption of the factory acts were brought forward a full generation earlier than the time of their acceptance. Minimum-wage acts and provisions for making employment more regular have been recently adopted, not because the conditions that demand them have only recently come into existence, but, as is clearly proved by documents in this collection, all dated more than sixty years ago, they were already urged and defended in protests and speeches that fell on the deaf ears of the early nineteenth century.

There is comparatively little in this collection illustrative of taxation and finance, and still less on foreign trade and colonization, which might fairly be considered to belong in the field of economic history; but the

fullness, variety, and interest of the collection as a whole justify many omissions and can hardly fail to give a wider and keener interest to the study of that still "neglected phase" of English history.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127). Herausgegeben von HEINRICH HAGENMEYER. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1913. Pp. x, 915.)

HAGENMEYER has been studying the crusades for about forty years. His first important work was an edition of Ekkehard's *Hierosolymita*, in 1877. In 1879 he published *Peter der Eremit*e, a monograph which showed his constructive ability and gave a final estimate of Peter's connection with the first crusade. His edition of the *Gesta Francorum* appeared in 1890, followed in 1896 by the *Bella Antiochena*, and in 1901 by the *Epistulae et Chartae* for the first crusade. In the meantime he had been publishing his *Chronologie* of the first crusade and of the reign of Baldwin I. in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*. In these books, as well as in his review articles, his attention has been directed mainly to the first crusade and, to a lesser degree, to the early years of the Latin Kingdom. No one else has ever possessed such a knowledge of the sources for the former subject, and of their interrelations; consequently he was pre-eminently fitted to prepare an edition of Fulcher.

In this volume he follows the same general method as in his preceding editions. The text is established with scrupulous care, mainly from the manuscripts which contain Fulcher's second redaction. In the edition in the *Recueil* the text is taken mainly from the codices of the first redaction. Consequently Hagenmeyer's edition furnishes a much better text and avoids errors into which earlier editors fell. Variant readings are given from fourteen codices and from all the printed editions. There are voluminous notes discussing each subject mentioned in the text, correcting errors, and giving references to other sources and to secondary works. In these notes there is also a summary in German of each paragraph; this is especially useful as the chapter headings, taken from some of the manuscripts, are inexact.

The introduction discusses at great length the life of Fulcher, his method of writing, and point of view; the character, contents, date, and sources of his chronicle; the use made of it by contemporaries and later writers; the manuscripts and printed editions; and the *Erläuterungsschriften*. The *Anhang* contains supplementary matter, including the account (wrongly ascribed to Fulcher, in Hagenmeyer's opinion) of the *Sacer Ignis* in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a list of the biblical passages used in the chronicle. There is a bibliography of thirteen pages (the *Erläuterungsschriften*, already given on pages III-III, are not repeated); a full chronological register; and an excellent index and glossary.

As this summary indicates, the *Historia* is edited with most pains-

taking thoroughness and everything essential is supplied. Hagenmeyer's method necessitates much repetition and some of the same facts and statements will be found in more than one place. His method also leads him to give many references of little value and thus to increase the size of his volume. But we must refrain from criticisms which are on practically the same level as looking a gift-horse in the mouth.

Fulcher's *Historia* is of especial value; not only was he in the first crusade, for which he gives a useful and generally trustworthy account, but he was the only westerner, resident in Jerusalem and participating in many of the events, who wrote a chronicle of the early years of the kingdom (cf. pp. v, 51, 64). And this edition supersedes all previous ones by its accuracy and thoroughness. Moreover, it supersedes to some extent the editions of other authors by Hagenmeyer himself, as he makes corrections and additions to the material contained in his earlier works. This work is the indispensable guide for all students of the subject.

DANA C. MUNRO.

Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

By RUFUS M. JONES, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. li, 362.)

PROFESSOR JONES no longer needs introduction or commendation to students of the history of religion; and those who have read his *Studies in Mystical Religion* (1908) and his *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (1911) will at once divine that the present work forms a link between the two. Even closer is its relation to an earlier link, Mr. W. C. Braithwaite's volume on *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, published in the same series in 1912 with an introduction by Professor Jones. In that introduction he told us that his *Studies in Mystical Religion* had endeavored to trace "one powerful line of influences which helped to form the religious sects of the Commonwealth period", and that he was "now engaged upon a second volume of *Studies*", which would "trace out other great lines of formative influence, and make much clearer than heretofore the spiritual conditions and environment of that creative epoch in which Quakerism was born". This new volume he then intended to devote mainly to Jacob Boehme and his influence, and under the title of "Boehme and Other Mystical Influences" it was announced as "in preparation"; but he soon found, as he now tells us, that Boehme was no isolated prophet, but "an organic part of a far-reaching and significant historical movement". It is to the tracing of this movement "as a great side-current of the Reformation" as well as to "the discovery of the background and environment of seventeenth century Quakerism" that the present work is devoted.

To Boehme and his influence, indeed, only four chapters (less than a quarter of the volume) are given. Earlier chapters deal with Hans

Denck, with Johann Bänderlin and Christian Entfelder, with Sebastian Franck, with Caspar Schwenckfeld, with Sebastian Castellio, with Coornhert and the Dutch Collegiants, with Valentine Weigel; later ones take up English mystics of the seventeenth century—Everard, Randall, Rous, Vane, Sterry, the “Latitude-Men”, the Cambridge Platonists, the mystical poets. The names suggest how wide is the author’s notion of “spiritual reformers”, and he wisely devotes an introduction to the question “What is ‘spiritual religion’?” The phrase, he reminds us, is Pauline and Johannine. The Gnostics, the Montanists, the medieval mystics, handed down the conception. But then it broadened. “Parallel with the main currents of the Protestant Reformation”, says Mr. Jones, “a new type of ‘spiritual religion’ appeared and continued to manifest itself . . . throughout the entire Reformation era, with a wealth of results which are still operative in the life of the modern world.” “The men who initiated and guided this significant undertaking—the exhibition in the world of what they persistently called ‘spiritual religion’—were influenced by three great historic tendencies, all three of which were harmoniously united in their type of Christianity. They were the Mystical tendency, the Humanistic or Rational tendency, and the distinctive Faith-tendency of the Reformation. These three strands are indissolubly woven together in this type of so-called spiritual Religion.” These strands he defines in their relation to religion and to each other, and points out how the men whom he is here calling Spiritual Reformers “are examples of this wider synthesis”. “They all read and loved the mystics and they themselves enjoyed times of direct refreshment from an inward Source of Life, but they were, most of them, at the same time, devoted Humanists. They shared with enthusiasm the rediscovery of those treasures which human Reason had produced, and they rose to a more virile confidence in the sphere and capacity of Reason than had prevailed in Christian circles since the days of the early Greek Fathers.” And they caught, too, the new message of Luther. But that message “spoke, as all Pentecosts do, to each man in his own tongue. To those who came to the Lutheran insight with a deep hunger of spirit for reality and with minds liberated by Humanistic studies, the Faith-message meant new heavens and a new earth. It was a new discovery of God, and a new estimate of man. . . . By a shift of view, as revolutionary as that from Ptolemaic astronomy to the verifiable insight of Copernicus, they passed over from the dogma of a Christ who came to appease an angry God, and to found a Church as an ark of safety in a doomed world, to the living apprehension of a Christ . . . who revealed to them, in terms of His own nature, an eternally tender, loving, suffering, self-giving God, and who made them see, with the enlightened eyes of their heart, the divine possibilities of human life. Through this insight they were the beginners of a new type of Christianity, which has become wide-spread and impressive in the modern world.”

It is this threefold strand that Professor Jones tries to follow through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But it is the mystical that most appeals to him, and in the mystical that which foreshadows or explains the advent of the Quakers. Within these limits his gleaning has been alert. Entfelder is almost his discovery. And if he has not always used all the literature (on the biographical side especially he has missed things of importance), he has studied at first hand the writings of these thinkers, and to admirable purpose. Fascinating are his glimpses into the souls of these brave old individualists; clear and cogent is his tracing of their spiritual ancestry.

It is a notable contribution to a much neglected chapter of history. But there is more to do. Dr. Jones has but opened the door on these forgotten heroes of the faith. As says Mr. Edward A. George in the eloquent little book—*Seventeenth Century Men of Latitude*—which is perhaps the best complement to this one: "The men who make names for themselves are often men of extremes. Souls on fire brand history with their mark." But "too often in watching meteors we ignore the fixed stars".

GEORGE L. BURR.

Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850: an Account of the Earliest and Later Expeditions made by the Russians along the Pacific Coast of Asia and North America; including some related Expeditions to the Arctic Regions. By F. A. GOLDER. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1914. Pp. 368.)

THE record of the extension of Russian authority in Siberia to Bering Sea, and of Russian exploration to the Northwest Coast of America forms an interesting chapter of history, especially to Americans, since our acquisition of Alaska.

This record has given rise to a voluminous literature, notwithstanding the destruction by fire at Yakutsk of a great mass of original data, in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Reports of governmental expeditions and copies of a multitude of other papers fortunately exist in the archives at Petrograd, where the author of this volume has made researches. He was also able to examine the Delisle manuscripts at Paris, though the latter seem to have afforded little of importance.

The author's sketch of Russian administration in Eastern Siberia is followed by a discussion of the relations between Russia and China on the Amur River before 1689. A critical examination of Deshneff's explorations about Bering Strait comes next, in which the author discredits them, but the argument partakes too much of the nature of special pleading to be convincing.

Chapters on Kamchatka, on the Kuril Islands, and on the "Land of Yesso" follow, with a very full account of Bering's first expedition to the strait which bears his name. Another chapter treats of the Chukchis

and the discovery of the American coast opposite their peninsula, followed by one on Bering's second expedition. The last chapter gives by far the most complete account of the detailed exploration of the Arctic coast of Russia and Siberia which is anywhere available in English. The text is followed by a number of appendixes in which historical documents of more or less importance are reproduced. A scant bibliographical note, with a very amateurish bibliography and a far too restricted index, complete the volume, which is illustrated by reproductions of several ancient maps and one document.

On the whole we are indebted to the author, who has brought together in English a multitude of facts from scattered sources and from unpublished documents relative to this region, which will now be available to the curious reader.

That the work is not that of a well-trained historian is evident. The comprehension which might be expected from a real explorer of those regions is not unnaturally wanting. The author is earnest in his contention that the primitive hunters who gave to Russia half a continent by almost incredible hardships, were "very ordinary men" of deplorable morals. There is some truth in this, and the same might be said of their compeers in the forces of Drake, Hawkins, and Sir Henry Morgan. Nevertheless there is something in their primitive human nature and their exploits which stirs a ripple in one's blood.

A better comprehension of the East Siberian dialect would have prevented such semi-misconceptions as "walls" for "stockades", and "leather" for "raw seal-hide". Some knowledge of navigation as practised in the region would have cancelled such errors as the assumption that the sailing distance from the Kolyma River to East Cape is 1115 nautical miles (really about 680); from East Cape to the Anadyr River 1045 miles (really about 450); or "across Holy Cross Bay not less than 500 miles" (really about 60).

The transliteration of Russian names, though credited to the method of the United States Hydrographic Bureau, is largely inconsistent, neither phonetic nor correct. In short the book, while containing much of value to the historian and giving evidence of much conscientious labor, is lacking in the workmanship to be expected from a trained expert.

A Journal of the First Two Campaigns of the Seven Years' War.

Written in French by HORACE ST. PAUL, Aide de Camp and Colonel of Cavalry in the Imperial Austrian Army, Count of the Holy Roman Empire. Edited by GEORGE GREY BUTLER, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1914. Pp. lxiv, 432.)

HORACE ST. PAUL, a young Englishman of good family, took service with Maria Theresa on the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and distinguished himself as a soldier. He was at Prague and at Leuthen and at most of the great battles fought between the Austrian and the Prus-

sian armies. He became a colonel at twenty-nine, and in the same year, 1759, a court of the Empire. His journal of the campaigns of 1756 and 1757, long preserved in the family archives, is now published by Mr. George G. Butler, who had already, in 1911, printed some interesting papers belonging to a later period of St. Paul's life.¹ It may be noted that the two beautiful portraits reproduced in the present volume appeared in the earlier book.

The *Journal* is the work of a man new to the profession of arms, but anxious to learn, keen in his observations, and with the qualifications of a soldier. It is one of the most valuable documents yet published on the military events of 1756-1757, because of the many details which it contains. It is in this respect that the *Journal* has value, as will be shown presently; it does not deal in large appreciations, like General Lloyd's masterly exposition of the strategy of the Seven Years' War, at the opening of the first volume of his history;² nor does it narrate the campaigns fully—for in 1757 we find no mention of Rossbach, and only a passing reference to Gross Jägerndorf. The author is chiefly concerned with what passes under his own observation or with what may assist him professionally. What he actually records is the string of events of which the important points are: Lobositz, Prague, Kolin, the siege of Schweidnitz, Breslau, and Leuthen.

On Leuthen, St. Paul throws additional light of more than usual interest. The success of Frederick's well-known manoeuvre in that battle depended on his getting deployed easterly from Lobetin before the Austrians should have time to form a line facing him in that unexpected direction. It was therefore part of the game to keep them at their full extension and expecting an attack on their opposite flank as long as possible. How did Frederick effect this? Hitherto the specific facts have been missing. The Austrian relation says: "The enemy made several motions sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, which lasted till 12 o'clock." General Lloyd is a little more definite: "The King made great demonstrations against their right by which they were deceived." But St. Paul clears up the whole matter. In his map of the battle he places three Prussian units, presumably three battalions of the advance guard, as far over as a thousand yards northwest of Nippeln. This position explains much of what happened in Frederick's most famous victory.

The battle and subsequent blockade of Prague are narrated at considerable length, and incidentally a great deal of valuable information is given on the command of the Austrian army. The regimental officers were almost wholly untrained and poor. The higher command was unevenly composed of high-born amateurs not always well suited to the career, and of professionals, often enough soldiers of fortune, among

¹ George G. Butler, *Colonel St. Paul of Ewart: Soldier and Diplomat* (London, Nisbet and Company, 1911).

² General Lloyd, *History of the late War in Germany* (London, 1766-1790, 3 vols.).

them a good number of Irishmen. Marshal Browne stands out vigorously and well; Duke Charles of Lorraine quite moderately; Marshal Daun, if the quality of his officers and that of Frederick's be kept in mind, may have been a much better general than usually appears.

The technical services of the Imperial and Royal army were almost non-existent, save for the artillery arm to which Daun gave great numerical expansion. French engineers from the army of Soubise had to be borrowed to conduct the siege of Schweidnitz. Among the documents copied by St. Paul none are more important than the memoirs of d'Hallot and de Boisgelin to Duke Charles containing instructions for sorties and other siege operations at Prague; one of these contains a specially interesting example of the *ordre mixte*.

Many incidents are connected with recruiting and desertion, concerning which we have the following amusing passage under date of November 26, 1757:

Depuis le commencement de la campagne on donnait un ducat à chaque déserteur, mais on prit trop peu de précautions en les renvoyant en arrière. Les trois quarts après avoir reçu leur ducat et leur passeport, faisaient un détour de 5 à 6 lieues et ensuite retournaient chez le roi de Prusse. À la fin de la campagne il se trouva qu'on avait donné 20,000 ducats.

With the editor's work there is little fault to find. The book is enriched with over sixty maps and plans, all contemporary and some of them excellent and containing important information. Some of the small sketch plans drawn by St. Paul are far from accurate, however, notably that of the camp before Nusel (p. 96). Mr. Butler may perhaps more legitimately be reproached for failing to work out scales of distance, thus putting the reader to serious inconvenience.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

George the Third and Charles Fox: the Concluding Part of the American Revolution. By the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart., O. M. Volume II. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1914. Pp. xii, 433.)

In the simple and unaffected preface, the author tells us that "This second and final volume of *George the Third and Charles Fox* brings to a close the series of six volumes of which the first four are entitled *The History of the American Revolution*." "They have been", he says, "my main occupation ever since I left the House of Commons in the spring of 1897". We may doubt whether any seventeen years of the last half-century has witnessed the beginning and completion of an historical masterpiece so fortunate in its theme, and so perfect in its execution. It is a most maddening book to review because one can never bring one's self to lay it down in order to write the review. One of the great charms of the work is that there is absolutely nothing of the pedagogue in the manner of telling the story. It results that the

book is not so much a place to learn history as a place to enjoy it. Things of great moment are told in so casual and easy a style, and the reader is so little warned by an impressive and pedagogical manner, that their importance is often not noted. No pointing finger and loud thundering in the index wakes the lagging attention, and bids the unwilling guest to the feast. It is the charm of the alluring muse, and not the glittering eye of the Ancient Mariner, that fixes the attention.

Except for the use of the Charles Fox manuscripts, there is practically no employment of archive materials, yet so perfect is the mastery of all printed sources, the letters and diaries and speeches of men, the government reports, the newspapers and pamphlets, and the monographic productions in the period, that the critical reader's confidence is seldom lost. Only when the hidden motives of governmental action are in question is failure to make use of the archives manifest. The diplomatic correspondence of James Harris, as distinguished from the selections contained in the Malmesbury *Diaries and Correspondence*, would have corrected Trevelyan's idea, surely vague, and apparently wrong, of the motives which led England to declare war on Holland, and work in the Archives of Foreign Affairs in France, rather than dependence on Doniol, would have made firmer his grasp of the motives which determined France to make an open alliance with the United States. Nevertheless, we wonder whether even the highly trained historical reader will not gain more real understanding of the conditions and motive forces of the revolutionary period from Trevelyan's comprehensive synthesis of easily accessible facts, whose relation had, in many cases, not hitherto been perceived, than from the wearisome pages of some diligent, brain-fagged investigator who drags, blinking, from the darksome archives, a wholly new fact which he has not the art to make common knowledge. Of course we must have both varieties of historians if we are to make progress toward absolute truth, but all too widespread is the fashion of regarding lightly work like this, of which only one man in a generation is capable, while looking with a superstitious and academic awe upon a host of learned monographs buried knee-deep in foot-notes straight from the archives.

His presentation of economic history does not offer that solid accomplishment found in some well-known, melancholy monographs, but we wonder if he does not come much nearer conveying the truth to the mind of the gentle reader, and with infinitely less strain on that reader's gray matter and credulity. There is another and deeper knowledge which can come only from long participation in affairs, from close contact with men who are directing governmental affairs, and from a life somewhat evenly divided between men and books. We detect these experiences in the author's understanding of election contests, of the personal and sentimental motives that actuated the voters, in his acquaintance with the dignified contemporary anecdote, and with the traditions of great families, with, indeed, all the interweaving social forces, which after all

shape our ends rough, hew them as the economists will. And yet he is not unmindful of the economic forces, and though never finding in them the whole solution of his historical problem, he gathers facts about the conditions of the working-people, the finances of the English landlords, the damaged trade of the merchants, the halted mills of the manufacturers, and gives them their proper and reasonable place among the influences which were driving governments or peoples to the course which history records that they took.

We are particularly struck with the acquaintance with men and events of that and other ages, so that the allusive element in his style not only lends charm, but inspires confidence. Who but a master spirit could divide in twain and play not only on the present theme but upon all associated facts of the past and future? His ready knowledge of what Burke did long after this period of history, and what Pitt did long before, of parallels in Greek history, and of contrasts in that of America, is most impressive. Perhaps one of the best citations to illustrate this charm of allusion is his description of a speech, where "Pitt was thundering away like a re-incarnation of that terrible cornet of horse who, five-and-forty years before, had been too much for the nerves of Sir Robert Walpole."

Many of the pictures of high life in the political circles of that time are worthy of the author of *Vanity Fair*. The company at Brooks's as described in the chapter on Fox and the new Parliament reveals this charm in one of its most attractive aspects. The author's jibes at Tory statesmen or their henchmen are a delight, if you do not happen to be a Tory. One was "a bully always and everywhere, and a duellist, or a pugilist, according to the social rank of his antagonist, and the nature and scene of the quarrel in which he happened to be engaged". The Bedfords are described as holding that "the first and last object of a sensible public man was to get hold of public money; and they preached on that theme with engaging frankness, and with as near an approach as they ever made to religious unction". Another "in his close-but-toned suit of purple cloth . . . showed a bluff and resolute visage, with a complexion ripened by the pick of fifty vintages, which matched the color of his costume". Quite the opposite of Dr. Johnson, Trevelyan always sees to it that the Tory dog gets the worst of it. Some of his characterizations of individuals seem too clever to be true, but when he says of Weymouth that "Of all functions in politics he was the least fitted for that which he was called upon to exercise", and that "the Foreign Minister of England in that day of England's need was regarded as little better than a nullity in all the Chancelleries of Europe", we feel that he has been neither too clever nor too harsh. Of Selwyn, who said his pillow was his only resource to escape listening to Fox, Trevelyan writes: "Undoubtedly, bed was the best place for a man some years past sixty, who had drunk two bottles of wine every day of his life since he was a brilliant and graceless undergraduate at Oxford."

This searching wit and keen insight into human motives and foibles is not devoted to Tory statesmen alone. Speaking of Catherine II. and Frederick the Great, he dryly remarks: "They had been partners—and, when they saw occasion for it, accomplices and fellow conspirators,—in enterprises of great moment of which some were laudable, and almost all were lucrative." Relating that a German baron in Philadelphia assured his Whig friends that the King of Prussia was "A great man for liberty", Trevelyan says, with perfect truth, "never was a sentiment more strictly platonic than Frederick's affection for the cause of American freedom".

In this final volume as in the preceding ones, we have an English Whig's history of the American Revolution. This is not to say that he is not sympathetic with the colonial cause, for, indeed, he is often more generous in his sympathy than American writers of recent vintage, but his interests are in the English problems of that time. This is as it should be, and to those who enjoy the history of a rich and varied political and social life, it is more interesting than the study of the seeds and small beginnings of American political and social institutions. Trevelyan's account of the formation of the County Associations (December, 1779)—"a political agitation on a scale surpassing anything which was reached until the crisis of the Reform Bill of 1832"—is intensely interesting, but not the kind of thing which would have caught the eye and employed the pen of an American historian of the American Revolution. The same may be said of the interesting controversy involving the "lords lieutenants", of the account of "the city and the loan", of "Lord North and the tax-payer", and of the "General Election" of 1780. The American war is described, and there are pictures of American social conditions, but the embryonic American institutions are either untouched, or only vaguely suggested. The only regret that this final volume leaves with us, is that we can no longer enjoy that pleasurable anticipation which all the preceding volumes have afforded.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1805-1840. Edited by his son, ROLLO RUSSELL. In two volumes. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1913. Pp. 319, 314.)

PERHAPS the most striking impression conveyed by a perusal of Lord John Russell's letters is that of the youthfulness of the writer. Possibly this is true in part because considerable space is given to the very early letters, but it must also be true that a certain buoyant boyishness characterizes a very large number of the selections. These early letters are printed for the first time, and are extremely interesting, especially as Russell, from childhood, regarded himself as a statesman in the making. Not only did he accept, as a matter of course, his destiny as a political leader, but, from the beginning, he displayed a singleness of purpose in political life, which marked his whole career. Upon the re-

form of the franchise, in some fashion, he had thought and written much before he was twenty, and letters to him during these early years show how keenly he was being watched by prominent men in English public life. The time was ripe for just such an eager, earnest reformer.

The editor gives a fair summary of the condition of England in Russell's boyhood and then quotes from Sir George Trevelyan, apropos of the period 1790-1825, the following:

For the space of more than a generation, from 1790 onwards, our country had, with a short interval, been governed on declared reactionary principles. . . . Fear, religion, self-interest, ambition—everything that could tempt and everything that could deter—were enlisted on the side of the dominant opinions. . . . To profess Liberal opinions was to be excluded from all posts of emolument, all functions of dignity. . . . No motive but disinterested conviction kept a handful of veterans steadfast round a banner which was never raised except to be contemptuously swept down. . . . The Press was gagged. . . . Every speech which a Crown lawyer could torture into a semblance of sedition sent its author to jail, to the hulks, or the pillory. . . . It was vain to appeal to Parliament for redress against packed juries and panic-driven magistrates. . . . Attendance at an open meeting for parliamentary reform was as dangerous as night poaching.

Russell's family belonged, indeed, to the party in opposition, the party of proposed Parliamentary reform, and the boyish letters show that, from the earliest moment, while in school and later at Edinburgh University, Russell manifested an intense interest in the franchise. The first letters quoted were written at the age of thirteen, and, from that time on, he is found expressing opinions on political matters and mature subjects, such as are indeed remarkable even from a boy believing himself ordained to political leadership. In 1810, when but eighteen years old, he wrote, apparently for private use, a review, "The Whig Register", several numbers of which still exist. In 1811 he prepared a long article on "Extension of the Franchise", and, in 1813, while still under age, he was first elected to Parliament.

The preceding six or seven years had been a period of invaluable experience and opportunity. He had made the acquaintance of Fox, Holland, and the leaders of the Whig party, and before he was twenty he had been at home in the best society of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; he had travelled upon the Continent, had ridden with Wellington along the line of Torres Vedras, had visited Napoleon at Elba, and had done some desultory writing. A volume of essays and sketches were published about 1815, the *Life of William Lord Russell* was published in 1819, while sundry articles and reviews appeared during the same years. His political engagements were naturally less confining than later on, and he impressed many men of letters as showing noticeable promise. With Tom Moore, the Irish poet, he was on terms of the closest intimacy throughout his life.

Russell's tours abroad were planned by his father as a part of his

political training, and his vacation travels in England were also arranged for their educational opportunity. For instance, there was a carefully scheduled journey among the manufacturing towns of northern England. This tour was made in company with Professor Playfair of Edinburgh, that Russell might know, at first hand, their industrial conditions. It is hardly necessary to say that Whig opposition saw its best opportunity in these manufacturing centres, and hoped for increased influence there through franchise extension. Almost with a sense of guardianship, certainly with a sense of approaching political sponsorship, leaders of the Whig party wrote to Russell letters of advice and suggestion. Not only did they attempt to expound political principles as a basis of public conduct, but they, especially his father, outlined specific fields of political activity where Russell's ability would be most serviceable.

Entering Parliament at the close of the Napoleonic Wars, he undertook the immediate campaign for franchise extension, believing that England's good fortune in the war would bring a wider sympathy for Parliamentary reform. It was no difficult matter, however, for powerful political opponents to hamper the opposition and to prevent favorable action. Russell was energetic, eager, capable, but greatly handicapped by youth and inexperience, and after several years of earnest effort, became thoroughly discouraged, and prepared to desert politics for literature. The influence of family and political friends, however, was uniformly against this decision, and when the reform movement again came to the front, he was in his accustomed place.

For the reform movement itself there is surprisingly little correspondence in these volumes; practically nothing is added to our knowledge of Russell's activities or influence. The editor attributes this to the very intensity of the Parliamentary battle, and the burden of official duties which came with the accession of the Whig party to power.

Indeed, save for the early years of political life, there is no new light upon Lord John. The volumes, while readable and interesting, add little to historical knowledge. The type, the training, and the youthful environment of a man of Russell's achievements it is important to understand; and his character, in its formative period, is brought out in these letters.

There are rather more letters from Russell's correspondents than from Russell himself, and one from Lord Holland urging upon Russell the duties of peacemaker attracts attention. Writing confidentially, in January, 1831, and proclaiming neutrality to be Britain's only rôle, he says: "Pray say what you think on this matter, not to me but to others. You begot the neutrality of Belgium, beget the peace of the world."

An appendix of twenty pages gives an excellent and condensed series of biographical sketches of correspondents. The index of names is adequate; that of subjects covers but two pages and is altogether too brief to be of any real service.

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By WILLIAM FLAVELLE MONYPENNY and GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. Volume III., 1846-1855. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. x, 591.)

THE third volume of the *Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, covers only the years from 1846 to 1855. It begins with the break-up of the old Tory party after the adoption of free trade by Peel, and ends with the collapse of the Aberdeen coalition government in January, 1855. Brief as is the period covered it is doubtful whether in the whole range of English political biography from the American Revolution to the great war of 1914-1915, there is a more strikingly interesting or, what is more important, a more revealing volume. Except for the Earls of Derby and Malmesbury and Bentinck, Disraeli had no colleagues of prominence in the Conservative party in the years from 1846 to 1855 whose achievements in or out of Parliament warranted a detailed biography. It was the most disorganized, futile, and barren period in the history of Toryism from the death of Pitt to the break-up of the Liberal party over Gladstone's Home Rule bill of 1886. Bentinck died in 1848, and Disraeli was his biographer. There is a life of Malmesbury; but so far there has been no official life of Derby, no life that embodies any of Derby's correspondence; and nothing of either memoirs or history takes the edge off this third volume of the life of the remarkable man who was Derby's colleague in the leadership of the Conservative party in its years of disruption and weakness.

The first two volumes of the Disraeli biography, it will be recalled, were written by the late Mr. Monypenny, who died in November, 1912, within ten days after the publication of the second volume. Except for chapter II.—an analysis of Tancred—the third volume is entirely the work of Mr. Buckle; and Mr. Buckle has handled the eventful period of Disraeli's life from 1846 to 1855—and also this extremely intricate period in the history of the Whig, the Peelite, and the Liberal and Radical parties—with such complete success that his readers will fervently hope that the war will cause no delay in the publication of a fourth and concluding volume.

A Whig administration succeeded the government of Peel in July, 1846. Russell was Premier, and Palmerston Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Russell desired a coalition with the Peelites, who then numbered nearly a hundred members in the House of Commons. His overtures were, however, declined by Dalhousie, Lincoln, and Herbert. Peel was concerned only with keeping the protectionists out of office, and was anxious not to take the government again. As the Whigs, Radicals, and Irish who followed Russell, all told, did not constitute half the House, the strength of the new ministry lay in the support of the Peelites, and in the absence of well-organized or effective opposition either in Parliament or in the constituencies. Derby, then Lord Stanley, was the leader of the protectionists, with Lord George Bentinck as his

lieutenant in the House of Commons; and from July, 1846, until the end of the session, the protectionists retained their seats on the government side of the House.

In the Parliament of 1841-1847 Disraeli was one of the members for Shrewsbury. At the general election he transferred himself to Buckingham—the shire in which his father had his home, and in which, after his purchase of Hughenden Manor in 1847, Disraeli himself lived until his death in 1881. Disraeli was elected a knight of the shire without a contest. His address to the electors of Buckingham is memorable as a statement of his political views and convictions at a time when he was easily foremost in the uphill work of reorganizing the old Tory party. He deprecated any precipitous or factitious attempt to repeal the free-trade measures of 1846. "The legislative sanction which they have obtained", he declared, "requires that they should receive an ample experiment". He was in favor of placing the education of the people in the hands of the clergy, "their legitimate guides and instructors"; and he was emphatic in his adhesion to the alliance of Church and State. He held that Liberalism set class against class, exalted political economy at the expense of human nature and patriotism, and insisted that the Tories must be the popular party as opposed to doctrinaire Liberalism.

Disraeli by no means abandoned protection as early as 1847; for in a speech at Aylesbury he predicted that Parliament after a fair, full, and ample trial of free trade would be driven to abandon it from absolute necessity. It would take this step, Disraeli assured his electors, "at the termination of much national suffering"; "but that suffering", he added, "will be compensated for by the bitterness and the profundity of national penitence". Mr. Buckle is of the protectionist party in England. His sympathies are obviously with the cause which Derby, Malmesbury, Bentinck, and Disraeli, and what was then known as the country party, represented at the election of 1847; and his comment on Disraeli's prophecy is that "the trial has been fuller and more ample than Disraeli anticipated, but it is evident that the end is not yet". The protectionists met with no response to their appeal to the electors in 1847. The Whigs and their supporters and the Peelites were in a majority in the new House of Commons; and the first session of the new Parliament saw Derby again leading the protectionists in the Lords, Bentinck leading the party in the Commons, and Disraeli, who had abandoned the motley garments of his early years, on the front opposition bench with Bentinck.

Bentinck retired at the end of the first session of the new Parliament. He broke with the country and Protestant party over his speech and vote in favor of the government bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities. Never since the Tory party came into existence, never since party lines were clearly drawn in Parliament and Whigs and Tories occupied benches on opposite sides of the House of Commons, was the Tory party more bereft of men of ability in the Lords and in the Commons

than in the years from 1846 to the incoming of the Palmerston administration in 1855. Derby and Disraeli were the only men who could command an audience either in or out of Parliament. That Disraeli should succeed Bentinck as leader in the Commons was as obvious as the great chair in which the Speaker is enthroned. But Disraeli was still regarded by many Conservatives as an adventurer; he was deeply in debt; Derby distrusted him and kept him at a distance; and the queen was not yet disposed to overlook his conduct towards Peel in the closing months of Peel's last tenure of office. The result was that when Bentinck resigned, the leadership of the country party in the House of Commons was put in the charge of a committee of three—Disraeli, the Marquis of Granby, and Herries, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Goderich administration of 1827–1828. The plan was an impossible one. The committee soon abandoned its weekly meetings. For all practical purposes the plan had collapsed before the end of 1848; and on February 22, 1849, Disraeli wrote triumphantly to his sister, "after much struggling I am fairly the leader". Complete and cordial recognition from the Conservative party was delayed for some months; but in March, 1849, Disraeli was regarded by Russell and his colleagues of the treasury bench as leader of the opposition, and on the 16th of that month Russell in his nightly Parliamentary letter to the queen informed her Majesty that Disraeli showed himself a much abler and less passionate leader than Bentinck.

Disraeli had at last arrived. But when Bentinck had tried the strength of the country party in the House of Commons in the first session of the new Parliament, he could muster only 120 followers. There had been no accessions to it between 1847 and 1849; and when Disraeli assumed the lead Derby and the Conservatives were still committed to protection. The country was prosperous and would give no heed to the cry for a return to protection. The party had no other policy. It had scarcely a corporal's guard of men of either Parliamentary or platform ability, and it was poorly served in the press. It is at this point—after Disraeli became leader of the Conservatives in the Commons—that Mr. Buckle's volume becomes so valuable. The letters of Derby, Disraeli, Malmesbury, Londonderry, and also of the Conservative whips, are copiously drawn upon; and from these can be learned more about Derby's ability and shortcomings as a leader than from any other volume of political memoirs, as well as of the great difficulties that confronted Disraeli between 1849 and the downfall of the coalition ministry in 1855. These grew out of his past and of his relentless hostility to Peel in the Parliament of 1841–1847. Other more serious difficulties developed out of the poverty of the Conservative party in men of Parliamentary ability; out of the stubbornness with which Derby clung to protection, and his unwillingness either to retire from the leadership of the party or to make a serious effort to give it an effective lead. Still another difficulty was the lack of any constructive policy. The party

was floundering from 1846 to 1855; and much of the interest of this third volume is in the new light that it throws on the history of the Whig and Peelite parties as well as on the internal organization and drifting of the Conservatives in the decade that followed the downfall of Peel.

Mr. Buckle makes no attempt to conceal his own political convictions. They crop out, as has been noted, when he is concerned with protection, and again in writing of democracy and taxation. In view of the heavy contributions to taxation which the working classes of the United Kingdom have made through the revenue duties on beer, tobacco, and tea, and especially in view of the willingness of the Labor party in the war session of 1914 to extend the income tax to wage-earners, there is not much ground for Mr. Buckle's lament that the tendency of democracy "to exempt almost entirely from taxation the classes who hold political power fills political philosophers with disquiet for the future". But no possible objection can be made to a biographer infusing a little of himself into his work, and nothing but praise can be accorded Mr. Buckle's first volume of the Disraeli biography; for he has given us a book that can be read from beginning to end with the keenest interest by people who have never had volumes I. and II. in their hands and who may have no expectation of reading volume IV.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education, Publication No. 4.] (Washington, D. C.: Published by the Endowment. 1914. Pp. 413.)

WHEN in the course of the second Balkan War the newspapers reported that a commission was to be sent by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to investigate the Balkan atrocities on the spot, many readers wearily shrugged their shoulders over the announcement. *Cui bono?* The misdeeds had been done, the dishonored dead would not return to life, and as long as the moral and racial conditions of the peninsula remained what they were, the outrages were sure to be repeated in the future regardless of the most convincing statistics and the most moving homilies. Over a year has passed and now the *Report* of the commission is submitted to the public. The most indifferent sceptic who reads it with open mind will be forced to grant that here is a body of material collected with single-minded attention to the truth and that, though done is done and all our tears will not blot out a single wrong, it was yet worth while to bring together all this material while it was fresh and throbbing which goes to prove how ruthless man may become in pursuit of an idea. For it was the idea of national greatness that caused this orgy of Balkan crime. The members of the commission were eight in number, who came from six great neutral coun-

tries and were all qualified by character and training to make some special contribution to the investigation. They travelled widely through the peninsula getting a first-hand view of everything, they interrogated hundreds of people of every nationality and station, and in addition to printing as appendixes an enormous body of evidence, they co-ordinated their findings in intelligent and absolutely fair-minded essays treating such matters as the Non-combatant Population, the War and the Nationalities, the War and International Law, and so forth.

What are the commission's conclusions touching the main issues with which their investigation was concerned? First place may be conceded to the atrocities—the *causa movens* of the enterprise. Without the shadow of a doubt genuine and terrible atrocities were committed by all the combatants—Turks, Servians, Bulgarians, and Greeks. The judgment implicates the Bulgarians with the rest but is none the less a kind of vindication of that people. For, cut off for the length of the war from the rest of Europe, the Bulgarians were accused by all their enemies whom the control of the telegraph lines permitted to retain the ear of Europe, of the exclusive practice of every conceivable horror. In view of the fact that the Greeks were particularly vociferous in this denunciation (telegram of King Constantine of July 12) the neutral reader may derive some just satisfaction from the discovery that the *Report* gives them a blacker record than the enemy whom they slandered. Their doings at Strumnitsa are perhaps the most revolting page in the whole terrible tale (pp. 106–108). But this acknowledgment should not be construed as meaning that any other people's record is appreciably better. Next as to Macedonia, the prize for which the wars were fought. By reason of their final victory recorded in the treaty of Bucharest the Greeks and Servians took over the bulk of the conquered territory and by the most brutal military pressure immediately attempted to "convert" the native Bulgarian population to either the Greek or Servian nationality. The evidence on this head is overwhelming and is even more revolting than the crimes committed in the heat of open conflict, for these conversion tactics were applied from day to day in cold blood and, we must believe, are employed at this hour as vigorously as ever. Under these circumstances "the conclusion is forced upon one, that in so far as the treaty of Bucharest has sanctioned the illegitimate claims of victorious nationalities, it is a work of injustice which in all probability will fail to resist the action of time" (p. 206). And finally on the greatest moral canker of the peninsula, the excessive nationalist passion of all the populations, the commission offers this weighty opinion: "We regard as just and legitimate, we even admire the deeds . . . by which nationality defends its existence. . . . But when these same nationalities pass from the defensive to the offensive, and . . . begin to impinge on the existence of another national individuality, they are doing something illicit, even criminal" (p. 206).

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Party Government in the United States. By WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE. Seth Low Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1914. Pp. xvii, 451.)

THIS is a compact résumé of the history of American parties and of the American Congress from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time. Intermingled with this historical summary are brief discussions on some large themes in government, politics, and law—such as representation and suffrage; the doctrine of equality; the origin and character of American parties, and their relation to civil liberty, democracy, and social cleavage; the nature of the presidency and other departmental functionaries of the American government; the Constitution and its relation to popular sovereignty and loose construction; together with the party convention system and the relation of parties to state and city government. This description and partial list of topics indicate the immensity of the subject which Professor Sloane has attempted to treat within the limits of less than 400 pages. The extensive appendix of over fifty pages includes the Articles of Confederation; the Constitution of the United States; the dates of the admission of the states; the successive presidential candidates of all parties since 1789, with their respective popular and electoral votes; the population of the slave and free sections at every decennial census, with their Congressional representation; and the cabinet officers of the successive administrations. This affords very useful material for purposes of reference.

The scope of the volume is too large for its limits. To elementary readers it will prove to be confusing and to advanced students unsatisfying, though in many places suggestive. The extremely condensed character of the volume is accounted for by the statement that it is an elaboration of a course of lectures delivered in the universities of Berlin and Munich while Professor Sloane was acting as American Roosevelt Professor in Germany. These young Germans of the universities, no doubt, have been well disciplined and they may have been able to attack, conquer, and digest the great army of related facts with which the volume is fortified. The American sophomore will probably not fare so well in his attempt to arrange this material in his mind. The multiplicity of events will worry and discourage him. While the volume seems singularly free from positive error of statement (considering the multitude of events that are dealt with) yet on almost every page the reader stands in need of further elaboration and explanation. On one page we find the 28th Congress with "a Democratic majority in both houses"; on the following page (p. 129) "the expiring Republican majority" of the same Congress, "voted hitherto unheard-of sums for different internal improvements". Is this an error of statement or does the author intend the reader to understand that in that era of party his-

tory, the party names "Democratic" and "Republican" were identical? Space is needed for explanation. A chapter is devoted to the "Republican Party" of 1845-1846.

On many other pages it will be seen that the attempt to pack so much information on so many large subjects within such narrow compass has its drawbacks and dangers. Matters are left unexplained and half-told, with misleading results. This may be illustrated by Professor Sloane's treatment of the origin of the Republican party: "In the year 1856 was formed the third loose-construction party. It took the name of Republican. Its program included protection, internal improvements, a national-bank currency and the control by Congress of slavery within the Territories" (pp. 191-192). This tells the story of the new party, of its genesis and its purposes. If the passage is intended as a swift stroke of the brush to portray ten or twenty years of party history in a broad general way, it may find some apology; but as to instruction, for young or old, it is inadequate and seriously misleading. The new party had its origin in 1854: to prevent slavery in the territories was its primary purpose—everything else was incidental; protection was not one of its party tenets until six years later, and a national-bank currency, or the bank issue, was not within the scope of the party programme at all; and, as a matter of fact, in its early years the Republican party (while out of power) was disposed to fall back on the strict construction and the states'-rights, compact view of the Constitution, as is to be seen in the attitude of Sumner and Chase and others in their opposition to the exercise of national power for the recovery of fugitive slaves, as also in the case of Booth in Wisconsin and the Wellington rescue in Ohio. It would seem that such a notable period in party history really demands, in almost any book on the subject, more attention than Professor Sloane was able to give to it in the space at command. Better proportion by elimination elsewhere would have helped.

Such are the faults of the volume. It has its merits. It is a marvel that the author has been able to crowd so many things within its pages. It is a compendium of suggestions and topics which a student may wish to trace out or look up, though the volume itself would help none, since it gives no references or citations. It is a laborious and able compilation by an eminent and highly respected author whose name will carry weight; but it is made up from secondary sources and those altogether too few in number to bring to the volume the advantage that might have come from a wider reading. It is based largely, as the author says, on three books: Johnston's *American Politics*, Bryce's *American Politics* (*American Commonwealth?*), and Ford's *Rise and Growth of American Politics*. Excellent as these books are, they are themselves generalizations or condensations, and the reviewer is forced to the conclusion that the sources of the author's information were too limited for the ambitious scope of his volume. It would have been better to have attempted less and told more.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The Department of State of the United States: its History and Functions. By GAILLARD HUNT, Litt.D., LL.D. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1914. Pp. viii, 459.)

THOSE who hold that existing institutions can only be adequately understood through a knowledge of their evolution will find in this volume a complete historical explanation of the nature and functions of that institution called the Department of State.

In an almost painfully painstaking manner the author presents in detail all sorts of curious facts relating to the creation and development of this department. He discloses such interesting and little-known facts as for example that the department at various times has been charged with the incongruous duties of the mint, the census, patents, pardons, administration of territories, and correspondence with federal attorneys and marshals. He tells of the vicissitudes of the original copy of the Declaration of Independence on its perilous visit to Philadelphia to visit the Centennial Exposition. He gives the history of the Great Seal, and other similar matters. The suggestive fact is disclosed that the Secretary of State in the early days of the Confederation when that official was designated as the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was required to obtain permission from Congress to be absent from his post. All facts relating in any way to the history of the department are religiously recorded.

Those who do not hold that an historical approach to the study of an institution or organism contributes much to a clear understanding of its functions will perhaps be inclined to consider such a work as more or less of antiquarian significance, very much as the history of a charitable organization or a club. Such an undertaking is usually evidence of affectionate devotion, and it is apparent that Dr. Hunt in the course of his long and efficient service in the department became imbued with this spirit of devotion. The dedication of his book to Second Assistant Secretary Adeë, who for so many years has likewise rendered brilliant service, contains eloquent evidence of this fact.

This book represents, as the author states in the preface, the result of a special task undertaken originally under the official instructions of the department in the form of sketches which were afterwards elaborated into pamphlets and an article for the *American Journal of International Law*. It was thus written to order to fill a recognized need. Fortunately it was written by a loyal and competent official of the department who could handle sympathetically material which would have proved uninteresting in other hands.

There can be no doubt as to the distinct value of this book in supplying accurate data respecting the actual organization and functions of the department. These data, however, lie widely scattered throughout the volume. Rulings in respect to the status of clerks, for example, are to be found in that portion of the work concerned principally with the

history of the department. In the latter part of the book, moreover, devoted to the actual organization and functions of the department, one finds included indiscriminately in a single chapter such unrelated subjects as the making of treaties, extradition, classification of correspondence, and the distribution of official duties. All such data would have been of much greater value if they had been arranged in the form of a manual for general reference, provided with numbered sections and a full index of the nature of a digest.

In spite of these criticisms the book has a decided value; first of all to historians and students of government; secondly, to all categories of officials whether within or without the Department of State; and thirdly, to the general public who may desire at any moment to ascertain the precise functions of that branch of the government, or to know the exact procedure to be followed in a given instance. The chapters on the Diplomatic and Consular Service, and on Passports and Authentications are of especial value, furnishing as they do authoritative data in the form of rules and regulations not easily to be found elsewhere. It is apparent however that such data are merely of temporary value as they are liable to be superseded at any time by fresh rules and regulations or by acts of Congress reorganizing the diplomatic and consular services.

The author announces his purpose in the preface "to show the formation and development of the Department of State and what its chief duties are and have been". His concern "has been with the machine of which the foreign service is a part and whose movements the Secretary of State directs". He has reasonably adhered to this purpose and may well rest satisfied with the thoroughness and accuracy with which he has fulfilled his task. A fairly complete index renders the book serviceable for needed reference within the limits indicated.

PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN.

Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739-1776. [Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, vol. LXXI.] (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society. 1914. Pp. xxii, 384.)

THIS notable collection of letters, which may be said to have been pulled out of the fire, for no one knows how or why these harmless private papers of two humble provincials ever got into the Public Record Office in London, is one of the most important of the many issues from the press of the venerable Massachusetts Historical Society, possessing as it does not only general historical interest but a very valuable material side not usual with such publications. It fixes points of great consequence that hitherto have been vexed and disputed as to the places where Copley painted and the authorship of many valuable portraits. The most significant of these disputed questions is as to whether Copley vis-

ited the Southern colonies, as has been claimed, and painted portraits there. The letters here printed negative the proposition in such a convincing way as to make it affirmatively certain that he did not. From this, numbers of Southern portraits attributed to Copley are forced to seek other paternity. Copley's only journey from Boston was in June, 1771, to New York, where he remained until the end of the year, and in these six months he painted thirty-seven portraits. He made one excursion from New York, going to Philadelphia (p. 163) Thursday, September 19, and reaching there Saturday *evening*, the 21st. To return he left Philadelphia Thursday *morning*, September 26, and got back to New York on Sunday, the 29th. I am particular in noting these dates in order to warn against the frequent looseness of statement in general correspondence that is not only confusing but what is more serious, misleading. For instance, in a letter from Copley to his brother Pelham, of November 6 (p. 174), in mentioning the amount of work he had done in New York, he speaks of "going to Philadelphia which took up 2 Weeks"; when we have seen he was away only ten days and in Philadelphia but four full ones. The importance of this is, that as all of his time was occupied socially and in studying the collections of paintings of Governor John Penn and of Messrs. Hamilton and Allen, he did not have time, in the four days he was there, to paint any portraits, as it has often been stated he did. And this brings me to an error in the note on page 301, where Copley mentions "Mr. Mifflins portrait and his Ladys". A note says, "Samuel and Rebecca Edgel Mifflin". The painting referred to by Copley was of Thomas Mifflin, afterward governor of Pennsylvania, and his wife Sarah Morris, now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the portraits of "Samuel and Rebecca Edgel Mifflin", attributed to Copley, were painted by Charles Willson Peale.

According to Allan Cunningham, presumably on the authority of Copley's son Lord Lyndhurst, the painter was born July 3, 1737, and this date has been followed in most of his biographies. But in a letter printed on page 48, dated September 12, 1766, Copley speaks of himself as of "the age of twenty-eight", to which there is a note, "This would show that he was born in 1738, and not in 1737, as usually stated. The Boston Records contain no entry of his birth or baptism." Consequently he was about ten years old when his half-brother Henry Pelham was born, February 14, 1748/9, and from Peter Pelham, who married Copley's mother, they must have both learned the rudimentary principles of painting, but knowing, as we do, the elder Pelham's meagre ability we know that he was but a broken reed to lean upon. Such being the case, the highly meritorious works that Copley produced in this country are all the more "wonderful", to use the adjective Sir Joshua Reynolds applied to "The Boy and Squirrel" (p. 41), when it was shown in London. It was plainly the self-development of his artistic consciousness that enabled him to paint the great portraits that he did before he

ever had been under foreign influence; indeed it was his feeling that his American paintings were his best works and a critical survey of his pictures painted here, before 1774, when he crossed the ocean, and his canvasses painted in Europe up to his death in 1815, show that his own estimate was the correct one.

The letters forming the latter half of the volume, from and to Copley and Pelham, many of them after Copley left Boston, are of extreme interest but my limits preclude me from more than mentioning them. It seems needless to say that typographically the book is all that the most fastidious can desire, and that the editorial work is of the first order, the letters having been printed with Chinese regard to exactness in orthography and expression. The only weak point is the index, which is sparse and wholly inadequate to point out the nuggets hidden in the text.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

The Letters of Richard Henry Lee. Collected and edited by JAMES CURTIS BALLAGH, Ph. D., LL.D., Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania. [Published under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America.] Volume II., 1779-1794. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. xxiii, 608.)

THIS second volume of Richard Henry Lee's letters, ably edited as was the earlier volume, does nothing to raise our estimation of him as a statesman. A very active political busybody, as he always proved himself, was sure to attain a certain lower middle-class reputation, somewhat enhanced in the popular mind because a favoring star made him the proposer of the resolution for Independence. These letters of the last fifteen years of his life, some 290 in number, reveal his views as a member, and one time president, of Congress, a Virginia legislator, and a senator from that state. Vain of his broad and statesmanlike mind, he was really narrow and sectional in a marked degree. His section, his state, his family were ever his chief concern.

The first 150 pages of these letters are almost wholly concerned with attacks on Silas Deane, whose published *Defense* against the charge of Arthur Lee, was denounced by Richard Henry Lee as an "infamous libel both against Congress and our family". He finds Deane "the most false and wicked Libeller that ever disgraced human nature", and accepts Arthur Lee's epithets, "Turbidus, inquietus, atrox", "his character too much of the Catilinarian cast". Lee's letters reveal in an amusing way the rising temperature of his wrath, as when he says that Deane hurt the United States more than 20,000 men, and a little later raises his estimate to 30,000 men, only to amend this with 40,000 men. We begin to look for eleven men in buckram. Lee hated Franklin because he had defended Deane. To Arthur Lee he writes hoping for

the former's escape out of "that wicked old man's power and influence", "the conscious guilt of that old man, and the wicked enmity he has practised and encouraged against you, must conspire to make him fear your arrival here, and instigate the fullest exertion of his art and malicious cunning supported by his present power to procure your detention in Europe". He would have had Franklin recalled from Paris, for he said: "I foresee abuse without end and injury extreme from his continuance. The vices that used to crowd about his heart in great abundance are no longer restrained by checks from the cautions of his head. It is the curse of man that the vicious part of his nature outlives his reason." Gouverneur Morris, because he took Deane's part, was denounced as "such a flutterer upon the surface". The mention of Gerard, the French minister, who had defended Deane, was sufficient to cause Lee to rend his raiment and throw dust upon his head. Lee could not tolerate opposition. He and his friends were always virtuous, but an opponent was little better than one of the wicked. Everybody was a Tory who was not in his faction of the revolutionary party. All of Deane's friends are written down Tories in Lee's letters. No fate was too dire for these "enemies of liberty". He even wonders why the sciatica does not attack the foes rather than the friends of America. He felt himself a martyr "persecuted by the united voice of Toryism, faction, envy, malice and all uncharitableness", but piously resigned himself to this martyrdom, "if I can only serve my country".

Only the record of his real services to his country can persuade one who reads his most sententious letters that he was not an historical Pecksniff, a self-deceiving demagogue. We weary of the cant phrases, "Honesty is the best policy", "Wickedness is ever more industrious than virtue", "Who fails in doing right fails nobly", and "An honest man is the noblest work of God". Lee is cynical about Congress, "where a man by being honest is sure to be oppressed", "where disgrace and ruin are the reward of the most faithful services", and the "discharge of duty raises up the angry and malignant passions". He was thoroughly saturated with the cant of his time about liberty, kings, and human rights. As long as there were kings there must be slaves, wherever there was restraint there was no liberty. He found "the Downfall of Great Britain, a dreadful example to wicked princes and people abandoned to luxury. A mighty empire quickly crumbled to dust—an empire that five years ago terrified the world and trampled under foot the rights of humanity and the principles of justice". "The ways of Heaven are as just as they are inscrutable." How the world hated England in the days when she abused her sea-power and had carried too far her menace of world-control, was well stated by Lee in 1780, and affords food for reflection to those who ponder on the attitude of the world to-day. "A once commercial nation, with her commerce nearly ruined, and under their accumulated pressures, not one ally, the powers of Europe viewing as with one eye, and approving as with one

mind, the downfall of a power that has been exercised with insult and oppression to almost every nation upon earth." One of Lee's letters also contains a suggestion for those who would meet the terrible might of modern armament with "armed citizenry". He controverted the proposal that Congress create a standing army for the defense of the frontier by the bland argument, "It would seem best to leave it to the people themselves, as hath ever been the case, and if at any time the frontier men should be hard pressed, they may be assisted by the midland militia. This will always secure to us a hardy set of men on the frontier used to arms, and ready to assist against invasions on other parts." "In this light the Indians may be considered as a useful people, as it is surely fortunate for a free community to be under some necessity of keeping the whole body acquainted with the use of arms." This is in keeping with his fanciful idea that it is better to secure loans from republics rather than monarchies.

Lee was always a weak-government man and nervous about encroachments upon the states. To Congress's request for a five per cent. duty, he objects that it is "too early and too strong an attempt to leap over these fences, established by the Confederation to secure the liberties of the respective states". Of one of the follies of weak-government men in that age he was not guilty, but perhaps his own sufferings had taught him that financial wisdom: "I am one who have the misfortune to see myself and family nearly ruined by the retrospective effect of our laws. Almost the whole of my landed estate was rented out some years before the war for low cash rents, and under the faith of existing law which secured me specie for my rents. The vast sums of paper money that have been issued (and this being now a legal tender for the discharge of rents growing from old contracts) and the consequent depreciation has well nigh effected an entire transfer of my estate to my tenants. This year, Sir, the rents of 4000 acres of fine land will not buy me 20 barrels of corn". In the editor's preface, he says that "Lee gives very different reasons from those sometimes assigned for his declining the proffered honor of representing his state in the Federal convention." Yes, he gives his health as an excuse, but he is not very plausible, and he reveals repeatedly his failure to appreciate the need of the convention, as when he writes Mason: "But, alas! Sir, I fear it is more in vicious manners, than mistakes in form [of government] that we must seek for the causes of this present discontent." "The human mind is too apt to rush from one extreme to another. . . . Whence this immense change of sentiment, in a few years? for now the cry is power, give Congress power, Without reflecting that every free nation, that hath ever existed, has lost its liberty by the same rash impatience, and want of necessary caution". True, Lee did grudgingly say, as the editor points out, that "This constitution has a great many excellent regulations in it, and if it could be reasonably amended would be a fine system", but he wanted "a new general Convention" to weave these amend-

ments "into the proffer'd system as that a Web may be produced fit for freemen to wear". After all it is no disgrace to have been a sincere weak-government man in those days, and why should the hero-worshippers of to-day strive as if to remove a stain from their hero?

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The British Empire and the United States: a Review of their Relations during the Century of Peace following the Treaty of Ghent.

By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy, Columbia University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1914. Pp. xl, 381.)

THIS book, occasioned by the anniversary of the treaty of Ghent, and accompanied by prefaces from the pens of James Bryce and Nicholas Murray Butler, is more interesting in its accidents than in its intent. Its summary of the diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States traverses ground already well known, and not illumined here by any special contributions. It is sound, readable, and reliable, but it is not in any sense new. Interwoven with the diplomatic topics, however, are paragraphs and sections stating the national backgrounds of both countries, and here we have the ripe *dicta* of a distinguished scholar. Whether we always agree with the *dicta*, or not, they are always interesting, and they lose nothing from being stated in terse epigram and pointed with acute intelligence.

The "hundred years of peace", as Professor Dunning summarizes them, divide into four periods, each having its own key. Between 1815 and 1835 it is British foreign policy; from 1836 to 1860 it is American growth; the next twenty-five years are determined by the Civil War; and since 1886 mutual expansion is the chief factor. Around these basic ideas the book is constructed. But, as the author says, "The discussion of international relations is almost invariably tainted with the fallacy of too sweeping generalization" (p. 357), and if Professor Dunning had held too closely to his scheme he would have failed to portray the fact. Diplomatic history is essentially episodal in its character, at best. When it is limited to two single participants over a long period, it becomes as a string of beads, with no necessary connection between the units except as a constant policy may provide it; and of constant policy the American State Department can make but a thin exhibit. The greatest weakness of the book is its attempt, dictated by its title, to reduce to a common denominator incommensurable facts. The episodes of a hundred years are after all chiefly episodes.

The connection between American democracy and British liberalism is frequently suggested throughout the book. The fact that the English Whigs have continued to regard themselves as closely allied with the more liberal factions in the United States is in part responsible for the success of Jackson in his British relations. Yet the connection must

not be driven too far, for the American democracy produced not only the Monroe Doctrine—"the pronunciamiento of a great democracy just arrived at aggressive self-consciousness" (p. 54)—but also a tendency to bait the British lion with Canada and Fenianism and Irish Home Rule. And the British Liberals produced Palmerston and a type of jingo diplomacy that brought war dangerously near in the cases of McLeod and the Maine boundary, the *Trent*, and the *Alabama*. We may rejoice with the author that Polk and Palmerston did not synchronize. It is true that among the people British Liberals and Americans have fraternized sympathetically and without obstruction, but in neither country have these classes found a sure means of impressing their hopes upon politicians, even of their own faith, when in executive office.

In the *dicta* of Professor Dunning's book the historian will have the greatest interest. It may perhaps be doubted whether steam navigation had by 1830 made enough advance to give great stimulus to American inland trade (p. 77); or whether, after the Venezuela episode, "militant Americanism receded into the depths and, stronger and more self-confident for having been revealed in its full proportions, awaited a more propitious season for asserting itself" (p. 312); or whether "every nerve of the nation tingled with joy" (p. 321) at the Spanish War. The American case for the Alaska strip appears to be understated (p. 327). And it is interesting to note that the list of "singularly sane and gifted" (p. 329) personalities who controlled foreign affairs in the first decade of this century includes Hay, Choate, and Root, and Salisbury, Lansdowne, Grey, Pauncefoot, and Bryce, but makes no mention of Theodore Roosevelt.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Whig Party in the South. By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE, Ph.D., Instructor in History in the University of Illinois. (Washington: American Historical Association; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1913. Pp. xii, 392.)

THE history of the great political parties in the United States is not quite the history of the country, but it is an important part of that history. The story, therefore, of the Whig party in the South cannot fail to command a welcome. And the history of the Whig party is particularly desirable in clear, succinct form since the Southern Whigs formed a sort of social group, unlike their Northern allies and still more unlike the Southern Democrats.

Before describing in detail this important book, it may be well to note that the author has used manuscript materials of very great interest and importance, hitherto little known to scholars. The Mangum correspondence in the possession of Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, the Floyd, Fillmore, and Duff Green papers are the more important of these, though the various citations from the Library of Congress treasures

show unfamiliar traits of several leaders of that stirring time. Of scarcely less importance in the make-up of these chapters have been the numberless volumes of published correspondence—such as the *Letters of Zachary Taylor from the Battlefields of the Mexican War*, the *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, and the *Memoir of Sargent S. Prentiss*, seldom cited by historians of the period.

The book itself covers the period of 1830–1861 and in its leading chapters: the Rise of the Whig Party, Growth of Unity, the Slavery Question to 1848, the Union Movement of 1850–1851, and the Election of 1852 it traces the story of the party and of Henry Clay in a most satisfactory and scholarly manner. It is to a large extent the political history of the South between the advent of Jackson and the death of Clay, or while the South was “finding herself” and making ready for the domination of the country which followed the election of Pierce. Still Mr. Cole is careful not to steer too far afield when he touches the general narrative or the fascinating biography of some of the leading Whigs. There is poise and certainty of touch about the book which marks its writer as a sound and discriminating scholar.

Although such a student does not readily pronounce judgments upon men and issues, the reader cannot fail to understand better than heretofore the leading men of the Whig party and the party itself. These men were no democrats and they were honest enough to be chary of declaring themselves willing always to trust the people. They did not trust the people and the party was a party, like the Episcopalian Church of the South, which it was said all gentlemen would choose for their own. They did not openly renounce the teachings of Jefferson, but they did quite honestly declare that the people were not capable of complete self-government.

Much as one may regret to say so, the career of Henry Clay appears in worse light than it has hitherto been allowed to appear. That charming leader and ambitious man certainly did not act on his bold claim that he would rather be right than president. In fact it now begins to appear that he would have surrendered any conviction that he ever entertained in order to be president. In the combination with Calhoun in order to defeat Jackson's Force Bill, in the surrender of his opinions on bank and tariff in order to drive Van Buren from power, and at many other turns in that eventful career, Clay seems to merit a harsher judgment than Schurz or even the greater historians have expressed. But if Clay longed for high office he was not alone in his longing, as this work makes plain enough.

It ought to be stated in conclusion that this book does not enter into the difficult field of social and political philosophy, nor does it treat to any considerable extent the economic background of men like Clay, the Prestons, Stephens, John Bell, or the Northern men who went South to become ardent pro-slavery champions. There is a series of most valuable maps in the appendix which cost endless pains and which give every evidence of being accurate.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Life of Reverdy Johnson. By BERNARD C. STEINER, Ph.D., LL.B. (Baltimore: The Norman, Remington Company. 1914. Pp. v, 284.)

REVERDY JOHNSON was a distinguished American lawyer (1796-1876). He was descended from an ancestry of lawyers. He followed William Wirt at the Maryland bar, and took rank with these distinguished men in learning and ability. In his earlier days he was intimately associated with Roger B. Taney in the Maryland practice and later argued many important cases in the high court over which Taney presided. At the time of his death the general assembly of Maryland spoke of Johnson as "the foremost jurist of America", and great lawyers like Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, recognized in him one of the acknowledged leaders of the American legal fraternity. He was interested in politics and government; was a United States senator from 1845 to 1849; was Attorney-General of the United States under President Taylor; was a Maryland Union man and again a United States senator during the Civil War, wielding a large influence in keeping Maryland true to the Union; while in the Senate he was a moderate conservative of commanding influence in the era of Reconstruction, supporting the "Restoration theory" and President Johnson's plan of Reconstruction, and doing as much as any man to save President Johnson from conviction on impeachment; and he was for a short time under Johnson the minister of the United States to Great Britain.

This life of the lawyer and public servant, Dr. Steiner sets forth in a useful and well-balanced biography. The work is an elaboration of a sketch written for the series of volumes edited by Professor William Draper Lewis entitled *Great American Lawyers*. Its pages are not scintillating with human interest because Johnson's public utterances were usually dignified and stately, measured and learned, usually legal and constitutional in character, and they were not much marked with exciting incidents or dramatic style. But what may be lacking in vivid attraction is made up by solid worth in a biography that is very informing on the life of its subject and on an important period in American history. Dr. Steiner devotes a chapter to interesting incidents in the life of Johnson at the bar. In politics he shows Johnson as a pronounced conservative, a "peace" man who sought to avoid and restrain everything of an "ultra" nature. In his early Maryland life as state senator, he was a Jeffersonian Republican but later he became a Whig from principles of broad construction. In the forties he was repeatedly a delegate to Whig national conventions and Dr. Steiner's extracts from letters and reminiscences throw indicative side-lights on these campaigns and elections. Johnson favored the Mexican War but though personally an anti-slavery man, he opposed the Wilmot Proviso on constitutional grounds. He was always a stout defender of the "constitution" against innovation and change, and appeared always ready to permit

the slavery question to be settled by decisions of the Supreme Court. His influence is said to have induced Taney to give the noted political opinion in the Dred Scott Case. After the break-up of the Whig party in 1854, Johnson became a Democrat, following the fortunes of Douglas and popular sovereignty in 1860. He sought some means of compromise and peace at the break-up of the Union, but became a conservative advocate of the war. He opposed Lincoln's re-election in 1864 and was frequently a severe critic of the War President. In Reconstruction, Johnson steadily opposed the Congressional policy. He opposed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Bill. He held that a person of African descent could not be a citizen under the Dred Scott decision, which he held to be good law; and he contended that short of an amendment to the Constitution, Federal citizenship could come only through the states—the states alone could say what persons shall be citizens.

The author traces with accurate care the conservative course of Johnson in the Senate, on all matters of public interest, showing him to be a consistent member of the opposition, opposing the Republican majority on all matters of historic moment. His record is carefully set forth not only on such notable matters as have been cited but on many matters of minor concern. Johnson's course was somewhat harassing to the radical anti-slavery leaders. He opposed the "iron-clad" oath, the emancipation of the slaves without compensation to loyal owners, and he championed General Wade Hampton's controversy with General Sherman as to the responsibility for the burning of Columbia. These are only a few instances of many interesting phases of Johnson's public career as set forth in Dr. Steiner's volume.

Johnson's career was well worthy of this valuable biography, which the student of the middle period of the nineteenth century will find to be full of suggestive material.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The Life of Thomas Brackett Reed. By SAMUEL W. MCCALL.
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1914.
Pp. xiii, 303.)

THE choice of Mr. McCall to write the official and probably the final biography of Thomas B. Reed, was a happy one. Few men as competent as the author to undertake the task possess so many qualifications for it as he. He had a long personal friendship with the man, was thoroughly familiar, by being a part of it, with the scene of Reed's contests and victories, and had the rare and peculiar merit of continuous political sympathy with him to the end, even in that final crisis when they dissented strongly from that policy of the party to which they both belonged known as "imperialism". Moreover he had access to the many family papers, and to fragmentary diaries, letters, and other literary remains that were never published. It is a pity that Mr. McCall

did not follow the custom common in England, of sending widespread a notice that he was engaged upon this biography, and soliciting letters and reminiscences worthy of preservation. There are undoubtedly hundreds of men still living, associated with Reed in public life, who could have supplied material that should not have been overlooked in the preparation of the authorized and final biography of such a man.

That is not a condemnatory criticism of this book, which is a good book, but an expression of regret that it was not made better and fuller than it is. Aside from Reed's masterful conduct in a position of great power and responsibility, and his unswerving adherence to the principle which for the time seemed to him the only right principle, that which most fascinated and attracted all men who watched his career was his facility with tongue and pen—his faculty in saying or writing, on the spur of the moment, phrases so terse, so apt, so striking, that they are unforgettable. Uttered though they might be on the most serious public occasions, and with the most earnest purpose, having nothing of frivolity or flippancy or lack of dignity, they yet have on the mind of the reader to-day, as they had at the time they were launched, all the effect of pure wit. Mr. McCall has perpetuated many of such sayings and phrases. But Reed was versatile in his characterization of men and measures, and in his sarcasms, and one regrets that the specimens given are not twice as numerous as they are. One misses, for example—perhaps Mr. McCall purposely left it out, in consideration for the feelings of others—that masterpiece, delivered in love and sorrow of one who failed him at a critical moment, "Joe, God hates a quitter."

The author has presented an accurate portrayal of his subject, has made the narrative of his life and activities clear, and has introduced many an interesting passage of political history of the time to illuminate and explain Reed's course of action. It is an eminently readable and enjoyable book. There may well be two opinions whether the author should not have emphasized more strongly than he has done, the immense and permanent service Reed rendered to the country when he was Speaker, and whether he should not have entered more fully into the reasons why Reed, the ablest and strongest man in his party, was passed by in the selection of a candidate for the highest office in its gift.

Reed was, as his opponents declared, a "czar". As Speaker he dominated the House of Representatives. He led his party; he enabled it to carry out its policy—when he approved that policy—in spite of a filibustering opposition; he successfully curbed it and refused to allow any measure, though backed by Republicans, to come to a vote when he deemed that measure injurious to the country; and when he found, as he declared, that the House had ceased to be "a deliberative body", alone, and by his self-assumed autocratic power, he amended the century-old practice of the House as to the presence of a quorum. The last-named act remains as a permanent monument to his memory, a

restoration of efficiency to the popular legislative body. Now that time has passed there are few who will not admit that his decisions as to the measures he would, and those he would not permit to pass were dictated by far-seeing wisdom. But the czardom which he established has been abolished. The dynasty could survive only so long as the throne was occupied by men as strong, as wise, as high-minded as he was. His successors possessed some one, some another, of his qualifications to rule. Not one of them possessed them all. The House rose in its might and its wrath, and wrested the dictatorship from its Speakers.

It is true of Reed, as it has been true of many another public man, that his strength was his weakness. His power as a leader, whether of a majority or a minority, enabled him to thwart, and his integrity and the loftiness of his principles compelled him to thwart, many dubious schemes; and thus he made enemies. His impatience with whatever was pretentious and superficial led him into needlessly uttered expressions of contempt that rankled in the minds of the little men at whom they were aimed. He was ambitious, but as a politician he was not tactful, and would not budge from a position once taken with deliberation, though his inflexibility might, and he was aware of it, imperil his political life. But the country was full of admirers of "Tom Reed", and they admire him still; yet many of those who admired him and were not his enemies doubted the wisdom of placing at the head of affairs one who had such unbounded confidence in his own judgment or opinion, and who was so capable of making his opinions effective. What would have happened if Thomas B. Reed had been in the presidential chair when press and people and Congress demanded that war should be declared against Spain?

EDWARD STANWOOD.

MINOR NOTICES

A Theory of Civilisation. By Sholto O. G. Douglas. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 114, pp. 246.) This book attempts to prove, more or less in terms of evolutionary doctrine, that religious faith is the fundamental cause of civilized progress, and that religious faith is itself a "psychic illusion". After a general introduction (pp. 7-27) defining his theory, the author in part I. (pp. 31-154) applies his ideas to the "Olympian illusion" and the "Christian illusion", and in part II. (pp. 157-236) devotes successive chapters to Ancient Egypt, Buddhism, Islam, Confucianism, and Ancient Mexico and Peru; and in a final chapter (pp. 237-246) he seeks to forecast the nature and direction of the "illusion" of the future.

The discussion shows considerable reading and a fair degree of insight, together with a certain cleverness of thought and statement. But the book cannot be regarded as a contribution of much value to historical learning. The materials massed together in the several chapters

are not sufficient to sustain the author's thesis that an irrational religious faith is the efficient cause of civilization. They hardly do more than make evident the already generally recognized significance of the religious factor in history. The argument of the book abounds in speculations and assumptions fatal to the cogency of its thought. Seldom are its expositions noteworthy for depth or interpretative worth. Now and then (as on page 200) the author recognizes the presence of other forces than "psychic illusion" in history, but for the book as a whole no such recognition is discernible in an adequate way.

Worst of all, in his contention that, while religious faith is the cause of historical progress, yet religious faith is itself a "psychic illusion", the author seeks to maintain the position that civilization is rooted in unreality, in that which is untrue and illusory—a result sufficiently novel and startling. For this writer, the irrationality of religion makes it the constructive force in history. He speaks of "the decline of faith as a loss of those illusions which are the essential cause of civilisation" (p. 93); he affirms that "only a new illusion could lead mankind to a new civilisation" (p. 115); at the end he summarizes his results in the statement that "our civilisation is the result of the religion that preceded it or synchronised with its earlier stages, just as we have seen that previous civilisations in Europe resulted from previous forms of psychic illusion" (p. 237). Such utterances are typical.

The present work adds one more to the well-intentioned attempts to find some single explanation of historical progress. It is suggestive but not convincing.

ARLEY B. SHOW.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Third series, volume VIII. (London, the Society, 1914, pp. vii, 233.) This volume, more than its predecessors, is devoted to the consideration of historical materials. Professor Firth's presidential address is a plea for "a more systematic treatment of the materials for British history; and in order to effect that, for a survey of the whole field by a committee of historical scholars representing various subjects and various periods". Like the reports of Dutch and American historians issued in the last decade, this survey should indicate the gaps to be filled by future publications. As a contribution to the execution of this project Professor Firth examines a portion of the field of English history in the seventeenth century and points out some things that ought to be done therein. Later contributors to the proposed survey will be aided by the forthcoming *Bibliography of Modern British History*, whose scope, plan, and progress are described in a paper by Henry R. Tedder. Professor A. F. Pollard discusses "The Authenticity of the 'Lords' Journals' in the Sixteenth Century", indicating many defects in existing editions of Parliamentary records. By comparing the printed journals with the extant manuscripts at the House of Lords, and with Bowyer's and D'Ewes's

transcripts, he seems to prove that the gaps in the journals of 1559 did not exist until between 1630 and 1682, and are due to the disappearance of leaves from the original manuscript. He explains the statement made in 1682 that "the original Journal books are not now extant", by a confusion between the clerks' rough notes and the official journals, or by the fact that "for the sixteenth century there were no Journals extant which came up to late seventeenth-century criteria of what was original and official". In a short paper on "Prégent de Bidoux's Raid in Sussex in 1514 and the Cotton MS. Augustus I (i), 18", Alfred Anscombe reviews the conclusions regarding this manuscript reached by Dr. Gairdner in a paper read before the Royal Historical Society in 1906, and suggests a different interpretation. Still more briefly R. C. Fowler calls attention to a class of documents, arranged at the Public Record Office recently, known as "Significations of Excommunication", which "form almost our only knowledge of the practical working of the system". In the longest contribution to the volume (40 pp.) F. J. Routledge supplies a guide to "Manuscripts at Oxford relating to the Later Tudors, 1547-1603". He describes the contents of these manuscripts, and indicates which have been printed. An interesting paper on "Mounted Infantry in Medieval Warfare" by Dr. J. E. Morris traces the gradual substitution of light for heavy cavalry, by the English, after the battle of Bannockburn. Heavy infantry also lost favor and the horse-archer, "the finest fighting man of the middle ages", made his appearance by 1337. Under the title "John Wycliffe, the Reformer, and Canterbury Hall, Oxford", the Rev. H. S. Cronin deals with "the history of the contest between the regulars and seculars for the possession of Canterbury Hall, Oxford", and adduces evidence for the identity of the Reformer with the warden of the Hall.

F. G. D.

A Guide to the Study of Church History. By W. J. McGlothlin, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Church History, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville. (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1914, pp. 359.) The first edition appeared in 1908. Although little more than an extended index to four popular manuals on church history—Newman, Baptist; Hurst, Methodist; Kurtz, Lutheran; Alzog, Roman Catholic—its summaries are suggestive. There are no references to important works on special topics, and very few references to sources, except occasionally to Henderson's *Documents*, while recent collections are unnoticed. The bibliography contains only ten titles. There is a fair index and an appendix containing names and dates of popes and rulers of all countries except the United States, and an outline of the Christian Year.

The history is divided into five periods, with subdivisions, six topics under each: Missions, Government, Worship, Theology, Life and Literature, introduced by a brief outline of the political history.

It is a fair recapitulation of the important facts, including Eastern Christianity. There are several inaccuracies and omissions, only a few of which can be noted. The author overlooks the evidences of a distinct clerical order and the beginnings of a fixed liturgy in the first century. Carolingian is used for Carolingian. Of England in the Norman period, we are told: "Feudalism had not risen there"; a very inadequate statement. Lay Investiture should be included with Simony and Marriage of the Clergy (here called Concubinage, a too harsh and misleading term). Mention is made of "the Investiture strife in Germany, France and England (Anselm)", but without reference to its settlement in England fifteen years before the Concordat of Worms. In the outline of the English Reformation no notice is taken of the important beginnings of liturgical reform in the later years of Henry VIII. The treatment of the modern period is more valuable, especially the brief characterization of the modern churches; though we read: "Protestant Episcopal Church now has over 500,000 communicants"; really there are over twice that number. The table of contents is defective, and there are several inaccuracies in the appendix. The repetition of the title of the book on every page is unnecessary. The heading of the chapter or period would be more helpful. All publishers should note this.

The book would be useful in an elementary course but seems quite inadequate for theological students.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

The Governors and Judges of Egypt or Kitâb el' Umarâ' (el Wulâh) wa Kitâb el Qudâh of El Kindî together with an Appendix derived mostly from Raf' el Isr by Ibn Hajar. Edited by Rhuvon Guest. [Printed by the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", vol. XIX.] (Leyden, E. J. Brill, London, Luzac and Company, 1912, pp. viii, 84, 686.) In this volume, containing as it does two histories by El Kindî and a considerable amount of supplementary matter, we have historical material dealing with two parts of the Moslem administration of Egypt from the beginning of that administration on for a period of nearly four hundred years. The point of view of El Kindî's two histories is indicated by their respective titles, the former being devoted to the governors and "constables", and the latter to the judges. The editor brings out clearly (cf. introduction, pp. 10-13) that both books have the same general arrangement and that in each the author sticks closely to his subject. Perhaps it will be sufficient to quote the editor regarding the second book:

The book, like El Wulâh, keeps closely to its subject. It treats the Qâdis in chronological order, giving the dates of their appointment, and generally adding personal details and anecdotes relating to them. Besides, it includes a number of their pronouncements in cases presenting some peculiar feature, and in a few instances the cases are stated at some length. Other cases are given which were referred to and decided by the Khalif. There is much to be learned from it with regard

to the development of the Arabs under the influence of town life, the growth of certain institutions, and the evolution of Muhammadan law. It is unfortunate that the text is often so corrupt that its restoration has to depend on conjecture or that it has to be left obscure.

For details as to the unique manuscript on which this edition of El Kindi's histories is based, for a list of the rest of the author's works as well as for a statement of such particulars as are known regarding his life, and for other details the reader must be referred to the introduction. The editor has evidently put a great deal of work into this introduction, and it will repay careful study. Special attention may be called to the editor's analysis and tabulation of the principal authorities for the two histories.

The glossary, the reproduction in facsimile of six pages of the original manuscript, and the maps add both interest and value to the volume.

The Arabic text was printed in Beirût by the Jesuit Fathers and presents a very pleasing appearance. As giving some indication of the number of names occurring in the work it may be of interest to call attention to the fact that the Arabic index of proper names occupies sixty-eight pages. The volume is a handsome one and both the editor and the Gibb Trustees deserve the thanks of scholars for its publication.

J. R. JEWETT.

Maritime Enterprise, 1485-1558. By James A. Williamson. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. 416.) The maritime and commercial history of the first half of the Tudor period has suffered because of the natural importance given to Elizabeth's reign. But the student who fails to appreciate the significance of Henrician foundations or who is blinded by the date 1509 can scarcely understand economic events in the reign of Edward and Mary. Still less can he fairly judge the administrative machinery of the latter half of the sixteenth century and its personal and material relation to the spirit, desires, and policies which had gained vigor since the dynastic wars. As a tribute to such problems many chapters in this volume are most welcome. But it is a collection of essays of somewhat unequal value rather than a well-knit survey of the period as a whole. In general the plan followed throughout is that of a few chapters here and there on royal policy or commercial regulation and then treatment of achievement on foreign waters in selected geographical fields. The exceptions to this method are a chapter on the fall of the Hansa in England and the concluding reviews of "Ships and Men" and "The Navy, 1485-1558". The material used is indicated by fairly frequent references to the well-known printed collections and in somewhat uneven fashion to additional manuscript sources. Naturally at given places Schanz and Oppenheim figure to a considerable extent. The index is serviceable; and in particular the numerous reproductions of early drawings and maps are excellent and valuable.

Such a method inevitably calls attention to several disappointments. Thus, fisheries and ports, though the latter is a subtitle in the table of contents, are not adequately treated; the author's researches on the Mediterranean have not added much to Hakluyt and the usual gap, 1502-1509, in English maritime history is still unbridged. Indeed, with the exception of the Spanish and Venetian calendars the investigations are based almost entirely on domestic materials. Nevertheless useful summaries of such documents have been made in many cases and notably in the review of the causes leading to the failure of the Hansa in England. The fifty pages on the Cabot voyages support the belief in three voyages of which the last was by Sebastian, who thus initiated the search for the North-West passage. Perhaps the strongest claim to a constructive thesis lies in the frequent endeavors to connect commercial and political policies; and here are found many suggestive comments which should incite further investigation. Lastly is a greater appreciation of the importance of foreign policy in its influence on domestic economic legislation. As a whole therefore the book is admirable for the use of the undergraduate and often stimulating to the older and more critical student.

A. L. P. D.

Willem Janszoon Blaeu, 1571-1638: a Sketch of his Life and Work, with an especial Reference to his large World Map of 1605: Facsimile of the unique Copy belonging to the Hispanic Society of America: eighteen Sheets with Key Plate. By Edward Luther Stevenson, Ph.D. [Publications of the Hispanic Society of America, no. 85.] (New York, the Hispanic Society, 1914, text, pp. 67, atlas, 19 plates.) Both atlas and text are things of beauty. As a frontispiece the text has a handsome portrait of Blaeu, and it is illustrated with sundry facsimiles besides. Mr. Stevenson's biography rests on that of Baudet, and devotes itself to Blaeu's work as a cartographer and globe-maker. It is followed by a special study on the World Map now reproduced. This map, an engraved one mounted on coarse linen and attached to a rough wooden frame, now hangs safely on the walls of the Hispanic Society's museum: but it has so suffered at the hands of time that the date of its copyright by the Dutch States General has been worn away and the year of its issue is inferred only from the dedication of this copy to King Henry IV. of France and from a resolution of the Estates of Holland, April 26, 1605, awarding to Blaeu a gratuity for such a world map. It is a pity that the inscription to King Henry, which is merely pasted on this copy, could not be removed to reveal the earlier one printed beneath it.

As Mr. Stevenson reminds us, "in a map of this character one may say the particular scientific and historical value lies in the latest records it contains relative to exploration and discovery", and happily the inserted notes as to explorers and the coasts of the newly discovered lands have suffered less than has much of the map from the flaking off of the

paper. Less fortunate are the marginal vignettes of towns (among them "Mexico" and "Cusco") and of race types. Enough is left to show the superb execution of the map; and, after all, such maps are of less value to the history of geography than to that of cartography. Nobody who has had seriously to study the successive publications of these closet geographers but has learned to his cost with what an absurd absence of criticism each copies everything to be found in its predecessors, no matter how the same cape, river, town, may with the same or varying spelling appear in differing places on the same map. The two Amazons which long appeared on every map are only the most glaring case. Mr. Stevenson himself points out how scandalously the present map was plundered by that of Hondius which he reproduced a half-dozen years ago and how Blaeu appealed to the Estates of Holland against such thefts. But Blaeu himself, too, took his goods where he could find them.

Mr. Stevenson's attempts at the decipherment of the map's letterpress are not always happy—or else the proof-reader has done him an ill turn. To his text he appends a bibliography of the literature on Blaeu and a list of his geographical publications.

G. L. B.

The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson. Edited with a Commentary drawn from the State Papers and other Original Sources by M. Oppenheim. Volume V. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XLVII.] (London, the Navy Records Society, 1914, pp. xii, 370.) With the appearance of the fifth volume of Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts* that work visibly approaches completion; and it is a circumstance of at least curious interest that the publication of the first considerable English work on naval strategy should coincide with one of the greatest periods in which that strategy played its part in the affairs of the world. The present volume lacks none of the qualities which make Monson's work worth reprinting and, still more, worth reading. Of all the entertaining prefaces and introductions which introduce his various "books" probably the most amusing is the "Epistle to the Projectors of this Age" to which "the name 'promoter' were more proper as fitter to be loathed than cherished". If one wishes to understand why Monson's work was so long hidden in royal closets and naval archives, he need but consider the subtitles of the present volume, "A Project to make War upon Holland", or Spain, or France, as the case may be, of whose value the very pains taken to keep the manuscript concealed bears eloquent witness. The description not alone of naval combinations, but of harbors and resources of England's possible enemies, of how to "have footing" in India, to attain Guinea, or to discover Timbuctoo or Gogo evidence not merely wide knowledge and strategic capacity, but a breadth of view as to English naval and commercial dominion of true Elizabethan scope. And when

to these one adds his chapters on "Stratagems at Sea"; "An Anglo-Dutch Alliance", the "Advantage of the Offensive", one comes almost into a modern atmosphere. Yet to the average reader, if such there be, the better part is still to be found in those chapters on "Whales, Mermaids and Maelstroms", the stories of the Moor and of Manoel Fernandez, the "Personal Adventures", and those amusing headings relating to the fisheries and the Dutch, of "usurers and the Devil", the Dutch as "panthers", "Hecuba" as "vermin" and as a deadly "serpent". These speak neither the Elizabethan nor the modern but the true spirit of the seventeenth-century English seaman.

W. C. A.

The Legislative Union of England and Scotland. The Ford Lectures delivered in Hilary Term, 1914, by P. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D., Fraser Professor of Ancient (Scottish) History and Palaeography, University of Edinburgh, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914, pp. xii, 208.) In view of the new materials which have recently become available—notably the *Papers of the Earl of Mar and Kellie*, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1904, the *Seafield Correspondence from 1685 to 1708*, edited for the Scottish History Society in 1912, and the *Intimate Society Letters of the Eighteenth Century*, in 1910—Professor P. Hume Brown was amply justified in selecting for his Ford Lectures the subject of *The Legislative Union of England and Scotland*, especially since he has supplemented his study of these printed documents by a careful investigation of much unprinted material in the British Museum and the Public Record Office, London, selections from which he has given us in an appendix, occupying about one-third of his volume. On the other hand, it is curious that he absolutely ignores the existence of three excellent works dealing with the same subject which have appeared during the last twenty years, namely, Mackinnon's *Union of England and Scotland* (1896), Mathieson's *Scotland and the Union* (1905), and Miss Keith's *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland* (1910), the two latter of which were noticed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI. 892-894, and XVI. 665.

However, the six lectures furnish a lucid sketch of the political and religious parties at the time of the Union, they explain clearly the complicated motives of the men engaged and make various phases of the event clearer than ever before; for example, how the difficulty over the Alien Act of 1705 was adjusted; and how the natural hostility of the mass of the Scots toward the Union was accentuated by the delay in paying and distributing the Equivalent, by continued vexations in trade regulations, and by the injustice of the Malt Tax.

A. L. C.

The Diary of Adam Tas (1705-1706). Edited by Leo Fouché, B.A., Ph. et Litt.D., Professor of History, Transvaal University College, Pretoria. English Translation by A. C. Paterson, M.A., Professor of Latin, Transvaal University College. (London, New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914, pp. xlvii, 367.) This diary, covering a portion of the years 1705-1706, was kept by Adam Tas, a Dutchman, who, in 1697, went to the Cape as a "free burgher" or colonist. In addition to furnishing an intimate and graphic picture of the daily life of the Cape farmers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it throws vivid if broken flashes of light on a struggle—in which Adam Tas was a leading spirit—between the burghers and Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel. The point at issue in this conflict, as significant as it was bitter, is carefully set forth in an appendix double the length of the printed text of the diary. The colonists had been brought to the Cape to furnish grain, meat, and other supplies for the fleets and garrisons of the Dutch East India Company. Badly enough off from the fact that the company's monopoly of their output almost absolutely restricted their market, they were brought to the verge of ruin and goaded to revolt when Governor van der Stel, his father, his brother, and half a dozen of his creatures, proceeded to enter the business of farming and cattle-raising and to appropriate the lion's share of the already limited market. The revolt was successful and the governor was recalled. Recently Leibbrandt, Calvin, and Edgar in opposition to the historian Theal have sought to rehabilitate him; but Professor Fouché in an admirably constructed piece of historical criticism, supported by ample citations from the sources, effectually demolishes their arguments.

The diary and the discussion are printed in Dutch on one side of the page with a translation on the opposite side by Professor Paterson. He seems in general to have rendered Tas's robust and picturesque style with fidelity and spirit, though he strains a bit too much after the archaic, for example, in translating *en Thee gedronken* (p. 71) "drank a dish of tea", and *wij . . . gezonden waaren* (p. 339) "we was sent". The renderings *eenige menschen* (p. 67) as "certain parties" and *preekmaker* (p. 71) as "man of sermons" do not commend themselves to the reviewer.

A. L. C.

The History of England from the Accession of James the Second. By Lord Macaulay. Edited by Charles Harding Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford. Volume IV. (London, Macmillan and Company, 1914, pp. xx, 1533-2082.) With the publication of the fourth volume of the new Macaulay the limits of the edition are fully defined. The present installment begins with chapter XIII.—the Revolution in Scotland—and ends with chapter XVII.—the capitulation of Limerick and the close of the war in Ireland in 1691. The division into volumes, it is interesting to note, is far from corre-

sponding with that of the original and standard editions which appeared before 1860. Of those the first two volumes contained five chapters each, the next two six chapters each, the fifth volume but three chapters. In the present edition the first three volumes contain four chapters each, the fourth five chapters. Besides, as has been noted earlier, the pages of this edition are numbered continuously, so that we have now arrived at page 2082. It is, therefore, impossible to collate any references in the present form with corresponding passages in the editions generally used. Moreover the consecutive numbering by no means obviates this difficulty. There should certainly appear on the outside of the volume or on the title-page, under such a system, another notation, preferably that of pages or at least chapters, to aid in identifying the contents of each volume. It is obviously impossible, without such a device, to determine in what volume a given page or chapter is to be found. Another, if minor, point may be noted as appealing particularly to reviewers. The publishers, following a usage sometimes observed among their kind in England, have taken pains to permanently disfigure the title-pages with a perforated announcement that this is a complimentary copy. This may serve some useful purpose, but its polite phrasing scarcely compensates for the damage done the book.

So far as the contents of the present volume go, they follow closely the model of the other three. Seven plates in color, and nearly a hundred and fifty illustrations in black and white, amply illuminate the text. The proportion of portraits to other subjects of reproduction remains essentially the same. Medals and maps, contemporary broadsides and views, with woodcuts, caricatures, and drawings, form an extraordinarily interesting gallery. The colored frontispiece of Dundee, and Dahl's portrait of the young Duchess of Marlborough are exceptionally good; and it is interesting to observe among the plates a reproduction of a water-color sketch of the Pass of Killiecrankie, an unusual and not unpleasing feature in the development of historical illustration.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Intervention and Colonization in Africa. By Norman Dwight Harris, Professor of European Diplomatic History, Northwestern University. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914, pp. xviii, 384.) This is the first of two volumes on "European expansion and world politics" to be published under the general title of *World Diplomacy*. As the one is devoted to "intervention and colonization in Africa", so the other will consider "intervention and competition in Asia". "The expansion of nations in recent years", declares the author in his preface, "has been an attempt of the European states to secure territory and economic concessions, in order that they may provide adequately for the future development of their respective countries, and that they may maintain their present prominent positions in the family of nations." His purpose in writing the book is "to trace, chiefly from

official sources, the origin and development of this movement in its main features during the past forty years". The illusion of the title is great, but the realities of the preface dispel it.

A chapter of eighteen pages on European Expansion and World Politics introduces the reader to the subject proper. This is presented in an order of narration at once chronological, geographical, topical, logical, ethnic, and otherwise. Two chapters given over to a description of the founding of the Congo Independent State and its annexation by Belgium are followed by five bearing the captions German Colonization in Southwest Africa, British and German East Africa, and Uganda, French Colonial Expansion in West Africa, the Sudan and the Sahara, Nigerian Enterprise, and South African Expansion and Union. The six remaining deal with the Reoccupation of Northern Africa under sub-headings that comprehend Algeria, Oran, Constantine, Tunisia, Morocco, Tripolitania, Egypt, and the Sudan. Of the fourteen chapters the one on Nigeria is decidedly the best. Three appendixes furnish a Topical Bibliography of Secondary Sources, which is quite different in its arrangement from that of the book itself, a Summary of Territories (in Africa) held or controlled by European States in May, 1914, and a table of Revenues and Expenditures, Imports and Exports, 1887 and 1912. Several useful maps, also, are supplied.

As the reviewer made his way through the book his mind became a succession of question marks. He wondered, for example, to whom the work was addressed. Nearly two-thirds of the pages are bare of reference, and yet the diction reminds one too much of blue and yellow books with an occasional *Weiss Buch*, to suggest a popular appeal. Oddly enough no allusion is made anywhere to Hertslet's *Map of Africa by Treaty*. Although German, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian activities are discussed, references in German are conspicuously scarce and the three Latin tongues are altogether silent. What is "intervention" in Africa, furthermore, what is "world diplomacy", and what previous European occupation of northern Africa would warrant the use of "re-occupation"—of the Sudan, for instance? One might even query how "the expansion of nations in recent years" differs very remarkably in purpose from that phenomenon as visible centuries before? Except for a more detailed treatment of certain portions of the period since 1870, Johnston and Keltie still hold their own in shedding English light on the Dark Continent.

Essays Political and Historical. By Charlemagne Tower, LL.D. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914, pp. 306.) In these seven unpretentious essays, with sure and light touch, with unusual sense of proportion, with a point of view always independent, the author discusses the great topics of American diplomacy and comments on the larger strategy of the War of Revolution. Skillfully illustrating by means of contemporary letters the incidents of the Boston and York-

town campaigns, he makes the characters of Cornwallis and Sir William Howe really vivid in few and simple words. No one can account for Howe's extraordinary lethargy: but Mr. Tower certainly throws light upon it when he emphasizes that general's self-indulgent habits and reflects upon the prevalent dissipation of the period. In like manner the long-standing difference between Howe and Cornwallis, coupled with the latter's political liberality and personal kindness, go far to explain the latter's failure. Fortunate it was for the cause of the colonies, that British arms were so inefficiently led.

In his remarks upon diplomacy as a profession, the personal note is everywhere evident, and in a charming way Mr. Tower describes the nature and value of the service. Value the diplomat has, for as the author says, it is "the things which may take place at any moment and unexpectedly, that make him useful and important in his place"; and "when you do want his services you want them very much". We realize this to-day as never before.

The diplomatic topics are the canal, arbitration, expatriation, extradition, and the modern humanitarian codes, and the Monroe Doctrine.

If a series of "don'ts" were issued to our diplomatic corps, the first should read, "Don't discuss the Monroe Doctrine". Mr. Tower is much too correct to have violated this rule while in the service, but once retired from it, the temptation is irresistible. His treatment is unusual however, in that it aims at giving the European attitude toward this "declaration of American national political faith", which naturally is adverse, as not founded in law and not justified by the need of self-defense. But the author is sure nevertheless that "no European government to-day would think either of establishing a colony or attempting to occupy territory on the American continent without considering in that connection the attitude of the United States", which is a safe statement.

The sketches of our treaty obligations as to the Panama Canal and of our share in international arbitration are slighter, yet here too one is aware of a certain independence in the point of view, of emphasis on the essentials, which is of value. So too in the long essay entitled, *Some Modern Developments of International Law*, there is original thought and an illuminating insight into things that have really counted. These thoughts, scattered yet germane, by a man of cultivated mind and diplomatic experience, so agreeably placed before the reader, make one more than ever regret that our service is deprived of his skill and judgment.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760. By Captain John Knox. Edited with introduction, appendix, and index by Arthur G. Doughty. Volume I. [Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. VIII.] (Toronto, the

Champlain Society, 1914, pp. xxiii, 512.) The *Journal* of Captain John Knox is well known, because it has been one of the main authorities used in modern standard works on North American history in the years 1757-1760. Parkman in *Montcalm and Wolfe* makes his own skillful use of Knox, quoting his best stories. Knox is therefore an old friend to many who may never have read his book, which, as we are told in the editor's preface, has become very rare and is now reprinted for the first time. It is well reprinted and well edited, as would be expected from Dr. Doughty and such collaborators as Professor Ganong, whose notes on the author's description of Nova Scotia are most interesting.

The first volume does not include the fall of Quebec. Knox saw no fighting, other than bush fighting, in 1757 and 1758. His account of the capture of Louisburg is the account of an eye-witness, but the eye-witness was not himself, for he was for over twenty-two months doing garrison duty in Nova Scotia, "an inglorious exile", until his regiment joined Wolfe's army in 1759. Perhaps the chief historical value of this first part consists in the evidence which it supplies that, in spite of the deportation of the Acadians, the British occupation of Acadia had been little more than nominal: the forts were tumbling down, and if the soldiers went outside them they ran risk of being scalped, "the French and Indians disputing the country with us on every occasion, inch by inch, even within the range of our artillery".

Not much light is thrown on the important subject of the relations between the regular and the provincial troops, but it is surprising to find Knox on three separate occasions (pp. 28, 160, and 283) drawing a very poor picture of New England skippers and seamen as showing want of nerve in emergency and being pulled through by English soldiers and sailors with forcible language.

Knox evidently loved writing and books, as shown by his plea for good regimental libraries. His narrative, in spite of the number of army orders, is clear, interesting, and always to the point. He is accurate in fact, fair in statement, and has great power of description with an Irishman's sense of humor. The drawback to his work is absence of criticism, amounting to want of discrimination. He does not help us to form a clear idea of the comparative merits and demerits of the leading men. There is a clerical error in the first note on page 67. Fort William Henry stood at the southern extremity of Lake George not the northern.

C. P. LUCAS.

Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania. By Charles H. Browning. (Philadelphia, 1912, pp. 631.) Mr. Browning's chief rôle in the preparation of this volume was that of searcher, compiler, and editor of the records bearing upon the history of the Welsh Quakers in Penn's province. And this part of his task he has done well, evidently spending a great deal of time and patient labor in his pursuits and in consequence

offering a rich quarry of information. This book will be welcomed by those whose interest is local and filial. The genealogist will find in it an abundance of biographical and pedigree material to gladden his heart. The descendants of the Welsh will find it replete with details of the early sufferings and experiences of their ancestors both in the home-land and in the new land of their religious and social development, and of the industrial and topographical changes in the Welsh Tract. The antiquarian and the curious will find therein much lore and interesting detail. And while the circle of attention is narrowed to a particular people and the particular region in which they dwelt, the circle of interest and value is much broader. The general student of early American history will welcome the book because of the additional as well as new light it throws upon many of the vital phases of colonial life. The causes of migration, the character of the people, the cost of transportation, the land system, the size and value of estates, white servitude, the cost of cattle, clothing, and provisions, local government, the conflicts between the divergent interests of settler and proprietor, and other items which constitute the vital facts in the history of the planting and development of the English colonies in America are here set forth.

Mr. Browning as an author is not free from the faults of the filial historian who holds a brief for a particular party or people. There is indeed much in the history and character of the sturdy Welsh settlers to elicit praise and there is much in the life of William Penn hard to understand. And there is evidence to show that Penn was not fair in his dealings with the Welsh when he failed to keep his promise to grant them a tract for their own use in which they were to enjoy a considerable measure of local self-government. When their hopes were destroyed their hearts were embittered against the proprietor and this hostile attitude Mr. Browning reflects. It has led him to deal unfairly with Penn and to blacken his character with the arts of insinuation and innuendo. This is not history.

The book is well indexed separately for names and subjects.

W. T. Root.

Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715. By Margaret Shove Morriss, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXII., no. 3.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1914, pp. viii, 157.) This is a close study from both manuscripts and printed sources of "the place which the province of Maryland held in the British colonial system", a place which was "regarded as satisfactory to the home country from the mercantilist point of view", but a place in which the colonists were supinely subservient to the system and to the tobacco industry. Dr. Morriss finds that while Maryland was producing annually about 25,000 hogsheads or 10,000,000 pounds of tobacco and getting in return rarely more than £80,000 chiefly in English manufac-

tures, the home government was deriving a revenue from the crop of £36,000 or more, and the English tobacco merchants were reaping sufficiently large profits to cause them to become a powerful support to the system. "The bay and the rivers teemed with fish . . . yet there is not a single record of fish exported to England between 1696 and 1715." Fruits, also, were plentiful but there was very little inclination to produce food stuffs of any kind for export. There was a small exportation of furs, but fully eighty per cent. of this was from the Eastern Shore, the inhabitants being too much afraid of the western Indians to trade with them. A Scotch-Irish settlement in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore manufactured most of their own clothing as well as some for their neighbors, and the popular branch of the colonial legislature occasionally desired to encourage manufactures, but the interests easily stifled such tendencies and kept the inhabitants shackled to tobacco. The more tobacco, the larger the governor's salary. The tobacco merchants endeavored to use their influence in the appointment of the governor, and the members of the upper house of the legislature were appointed by the crown upon the recommendation of the governor. The cheap labor, too, of the indentured servants and negro slaves sustained the tobacco industry.

Dr. Morriss has made a thorough search for facts pertaining to her subject, and presented them clearly and with good judgment. It may, however, seem unfair to Lord Baltimore to suggest his interest in the revenue as a controlling motive for vetoing the act limiting the production of tobacco (p. 24). It is an error to state that "the English officials in Maryland were almost entirely supported by the income derived from an export duty" on tobacco (p. 47); the governor was so supported, but the other officers were paid chiefly in fees. The "Sloane MSS. 2291, British Museum", to which reference is frequently made, was printed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XII. 327-340.

N. D. M.

Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware. By John Martin Hammond. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914, pp. xii, 304.) This work presents the home life and official dignities, with family traditions more or less well authenticated, of some thirty-seven of the notable houses and their owners in Maryland and Delaware. The photographs are unusually fine, and in the grouping of owners at the head of each chapter, with data from original sources as to cost and time consumed in erection, early occupancy and ownership, valuable information is given, as in the cases of the Lloyd-Chase and the Hammond-Harwood houses of the Annapolis group.

In Prince George County, one has glimpses of the vast possessions of Richard Snowden, iron-master of Potuxon Forge, of Belair, with fine old tales of the turf and close ties of the Tasker-Ogle-Bladen connection over seas, and of Mount Airy the patrimony of Benedict Calvert.

Howard County contributes Doughoregan Manor and its patriarchal colonies of Carrolls, Burleigh of the Hammonds, Belmont of the Dorsey-Hanson clan, while in Baltimore County the Ridgelys hold stately Hampton. On the Eastern Shore the survival of five great homes represents the Lloyds of Wye. At Beverly, the Dennis family continues in possession, and Plain Dealing keeps its memories of Chamberlaines, long lords of the soil.

The all too scant chronicles of seven important houses of Delaware are interestingly given, especially in the case of Ridgely of Dover, which registers so many historic names, Moores, Wemyss, Rodney, and the beautiful Vining women; and including the Dickinson and Thomas mansions, the estates are still held by these families.

Among numerous proof-errors, the Abbé Robin masquerades as Rodin, Buckley as Buckler, while on page 43 William Paca's daughter espouses "Consul Roubelle". Paca's girls died early, but the son of Rewbell, the Director, Jerome Bonaparte's aide, married in 1804 at Baltimore Henrietta Pascault (pronounced Packa) of the French emigration from Santo Domingo.

A. M. L. S.

The History of Brown University, 1764-1914. By Walter C. Bronson, Litt.D., Professor of English Literature. (Providence, published by the University, 1914, pp. x, 548.) Brown University, under the name of Rhode Island College, was chartered by the colonial assembly in 1764. Last autumn it celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. As a part of the celebration, Professor Bronson was commissioned to write a history of the university. Abundant materials for the task appear to exist; for the earlier period, indeed, the author has found a quite surprising number and variety of sources to use and quote. With their aid, and especially with that of Dr. Ezra Stiles's *Literary Diary*, he has given a much fuller and more convincing exposition than has ever before been offered of the process, somewhat intricate and open to sectarian controversy, by which the college charter was brought to enactment. That charter had some striking peculiarities, but the principal of these, and one reflecting great credit on its makers, was that it recognized, more broadly and fundamentally than other college charters of the period, the principle of freedom from religious tests and the idea of denominational co-operation.

Few if any American college histories have been better written than the first three-fourths of this. The last quarter, embracing the events of the last fifty years, is less successful, partly because crowded with too many details, partly because the writer makes little attempt to relate the story to the general history of modern times in the United States and in Rhode Island. For the earlier chapters, the background of colonial society, the movements of the Revolutionary period, the characters of individuals, have been carefully studied; and perhaps the author, as a

professor of English, has found it easier to interpret in an entertaining manner the history of an institution in which, as was the case for the first sixty years, success in literary achievement was the end chiefly sought. Certainly all this part is very engaging, and may be read with profit by the student of general American history, while to the "Brown man" and the student of old Rhode Island it will be a delight. But Dr. Bronson also sets forth interestingly and justly the character and work of Francis Wayland, president 1826-1855, whose function it was, by breezes of fresh air, to sweep the university out of the weakly literary doldrums in which, in common with most American colleges of that period, it lay becalmed, and to set its course toward an education more completely adapted to the actual conditions of American life. Wayland was a man of extraordinary power, whose impress on the institution was deeper than that of any other individual in its history. The reigns of his successors lie too near us for final treatment, but Professor Bronson has narrated the modern developments with great fidelity, accuracy, and good judgment.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. Volumes XXII., XXIII., 1782, January 1-August 9, August 12-December 31. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1914, pp. ix, 1-460, 461-917.) The first noticeable fact concerning the *Journals* for 1782 is that two volumes suffice for the records of the year, whereas from 1776 to 1781 three volumes were requisite for each year, although the volumes for 1781 had shown a diminution in size. It is further noticeable that the journals proper are even more meagre than the size of the volumes would indicate, and that many deficiencies in the record are supplied, so far as possible, by other papers of Congress. For instance the course of proceedings, including the appointment of committees and changes in personnel and even the consideration of measures, is often traceable only through endorsements on committee reports, and by means of the committee books, while numerous motions made are known only from scattered papers.

The proceedings of the year are to a considerable extent characterized by a furtherance of the programme of constructive legislation begun the year before (see this REVIEW, XVIII. 632, 840). Among the first of these consummations was the plan of a consular convention with France. The duties of the secretary of Congress were elaborated and defined, and the great seal, the device for which was adopted in June, was put into his keeping. The departments of foreign affairs and war were reorganized and new regulations for subordinate departments of the army and for the post-office were adopted.

In other ways also, while the negotiations for peace were dragging along, efforts were made toward settling down into a national rôle. An elaborate report of the superintendent of finance upon the state of com-

merce, including a plan for its protection, was sent to France for the concurrence of that government; a treaty of commerce was concluded with Sweden, and negotiations for similar treaties with other powers progressed. The question of the navigation of the Mississippi, afterward to become of prime importance, made its appearance.

The most vital problem, however, which Congress had to consider was that of its finances. The system of requisitions had almost completely broken down, and the proposed five per cent. impost had not yet been accepted by all the states. In March a proposed circular letter to the states earnestly calling for funds had first been emasculated and then rejected altogether because of its revelations of the government's weakness. Committees of Congress were sent to plead with the state governments, but accomplished little. A land tax was proposed but difficulties in its application could not be surmounted.

Meanwhile the French government had given notice that no further loans would be made and asked for an accounting. The solution of the problem seemed to lie in the cession by the claimant states of their western lands and the sale of these for the common benefit. Much, however, if not all, depended on peace, and an acceptable peace depended on the government's being able to hold up its head. Rhode Island's outright rejection of the five per cent. impost and Virginia's repeal of her assent dashed all hopes from that measure, and in the last days of the year new difficulties appeared in the negotiations for peace. The year closed on a rather gloomy prospect.

E. C. B.

The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution. By Paul Chrisler Phillips, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Montana. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. II., nos. 2 and 3.] (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1914, pp. 247.) Mr. Phillips makes a valuable contribution to the history of the Old Northwest. His researches among French archives enable him to draw an engaging portrait of Vergennes: the French minister aids the colonies in order to humiliate England; he becomes interested in the new nation he helps to create by the fact of recognition by France; and although he must have the aid of Spain, he will not further the greed of that nation in its extreme endeavors to make the Gulf of Mexico a Spanish lake and to gain the exclusive control of the navigation of the Mississippi. On the other hand, he has no sympathy with the American projects to conquer Canada; and when Jay and Adams are led into direct negotiations with England, thereby disregarding instructions of Congress and proving ungrateful for the help France has given the colonies, Vergennes tolerantly and good-naturedly commends them for being smarter diplomats than himself. If Franklin, the aged and infirm, had not been pushed aside by his colleagues, Ontario would have been included within our boundaries. Mr. Phillips has ascertained that the West existed during the Revolution, not only in the minds of Virginians, who were furnishing

men and means for the conquest of that region; but also in Congress and in the courts of France, Spain, and England. Future study is needed to develop the large body of information in regard to the West which evidently exists both in foreign archives and in hitherto unused sources in this country. Mr. Phillips in his valuable studies of Vergennes and Florida Blanca does less than justice to John Jay. He has not studied carefully the Oswald correspondence, and does not sufficiently appreciate the game Jay played with that negotiator. He is diffuse; he repeats himself; he runs back and forth over his chronological boundaries, so that he puzzles the reader. For use in similes western history seems to have forsaken chess for poker (pp. 26, 81).

CHARLES MOORE.

The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina. By H. M. Henry, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Emory and Henry College. (Emory, Virginia, 1914, pp. x, 216.) The author of this monograph endorses the opinion that the slaves "were controlled more by men than by laws; that the statutes were placed on the books chiefly for emergency use, but under ordinary circumstances many of them were dead letters". Accordingly he has treated public opinion and to some extent private conduct as well as the course of legislation and official practice. In so doing he has made use of a wide range of material, including pamphlets, newspapers, and the manuscript court records of a number of counties. The data from these last, though necessarily meagre, are especially welcome. The negroes, whether slave or free, are shown to have had poor prospects of full and fair trial when carried into court on criminal charges. For example, Governor Adams wrote in 1855 of the negro courts: "Their decisions are rarely in conformity with justice or humanity. I have felt constrained in a majority of cases brought to my notice either to modify the sentence or to set it aside altogether" (p. 60). An outstanding feature of the book is in fact the frequent expression quoted from leading officials and journals of a desire for the reform and mitigation of the laws. These demands met little response from the legislature, for reasons which the author from time to time suggests. But their occurrence at least indicates a sentiment among the more responsible citizens tending to keep the number of negro prosecutions within small compass; and the executions for capital crimes appear to have been correspondingly few. The scope of Dr. Henry's monograph includes the whole range of the negroes' relations to the ante-bellum law. The style is that which is unhappily common in doctoral dissertations, but the substance contains distinct contributions to knowledge.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

John Ross and the Cherokee Indians. By Rachel Caroline Eaton, A.M. (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1914, pp. 212.) Rachel Caroline Eaton's *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*

is practically the first truly historical Indian biography that has been produced. It is built upon a foundation of sources and authorities that are, in all respects, accredited and is, on the whole, a very readable, reliable narrative. Among the sources used appear Cherokee national records on file at Tahlequah; private papers of the Ross family; manuscripts collected by John Howard Payne during his residence in the Cherokee country east; manuscripts in the possession of the Sequoyah Historical Society; and the records of the United States Indian Office.

The inclusion by Mrs. Eaton of the source last-named is unfortunate to a degree since her use of it could not have been extensive and her references to it are always rather vague. Indian Office Letter-Books and Report Books are all bound, numbered, and paged; Indian Office Files bear definite file marks. Citations, therefore, of any of the foregoing can be definite and ought never to be indefinite. The flat-filing system, now in vogue at the Indian Office, breaks up old bundles but does not, in any way, destroy old sign-posts. Moreover, the Emigration Papers (various tribes), and the Old Settler Papers (Cherokee) have not yet been disturbed by the flat-filing clerks and, if exhaustively examined, might have furnished much additional material for a life of John Ross, although the information afforded might not have affected the general estimate of his work and character.

It seems unfortunate that so well-written a book as Mrs. Eaton's surely is should not have found a better printer and publisher. Typographical errors occur. There is a particularly serious one on pages 94-95, it being a misplacement and duplication of text that even very ordinary proof-reading ought to have been able to avoid. The book is entirely destitute of an index, which would have greatly enhanced its value as a library reference book and as such it ought to rank; for it covers the period of American history from 1811 to 1866 and throws a much needed light upon certain government policies.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL.

Daniel Webster. By Frederic Austin Ogg, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Simmons College, Boston. [American Crisis Biographies, edited by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer.] (Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Company, 1914, pp. 433.) Another biography of Daniel Webster, and one which amply justifies itself. Professor Ogg has had the advantage over his predecessors that arises from the publication of Van Tyne's *Letters of Daniel Webster*, in 1902, and of the exhaustive "national" edition of his *Writings and Speeches*, in 1903. Although the new sources, of which he has made frequent and effective use, add nothing of first-rate importance to what was already known of the life of Webster, yet they do throw light upon some interesting events in that life, and admit the reader to a view of the great statesman's opinions throughout his public career.

As a whole the work may be characterized as a model biography—

that is, one that has been compiled with painstaking thoroughness and in a commendably judicious temper. It is accurate and correct, not merely in its narrative of Webster's course of action upon the many questions to which Webster's speeches were addressed, but in its exposition of the circumstances and the issues involved. Only one well versed in the political history of the country, or one who studied each situation carefully before attempting to set it forth in words, could have dealt with so many episodes in that history without making—so far as the writer has been able to discover—a single misstatement. That is not quite the same thing as saying that all of his judgments commend themselves to this writer, but Professor Ogg may not have had in his mind the eventuality of this review.

The work has the merits and the faults of a "model" biography. It omits nothing. It misstates nothing. It is, on a large scale, such a biography as would be adapted admirably to a cyclopaedia or a dictionary of national biography. On the other hand, one wonders at the absence of evidence of the author's personal enthusiasm for his subject. Incidentally he quotes, and undoubtedly endorses, a few of the many tributes paid by Webster's contemporaries to his extraordinary powers, and to the impression he made upon his auditors and upon those who read his speeches; but he restrains himself, almost coldly, at times, from adding the eulogistic comment which his readers would surely have pardoned. No doubt a biographer should maintain a judicial frame of mind, and should refrain from too effusive praise of his subject; but should he leave so exclusively to others the expression of admiration when he is writing the life of one so great as to have been characterized by the late Lord Russell of Killowen as "perhaps the greatest forensic figure the world has ever seen"?¹

The book is written with admirable clearness, and is furnished with a good index and an ample bibliography. Two minor points which may deserve attention in future editions, may be noted. The name of Mr. Mangum of North Carolina (p. 280) was not William but Willie, and it was not a nickname. Also, half a dozen times in the book the author uses the word *apropos* as a preposition, without the following "of"—which is not good English outside of the newspapers.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

The Life and Public Services of J. Glancy Jones. By Charles Henry Jones. In two volumes. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1910, pp. xvi, 388, viii, 388.) This purports to be a biography of one who was a close personal and political friend of James Buchanan; and who was successively and successfully, if we may believe the author's constant asseverations, first an Episcopal rector, then a lawyer and deputy attorney-general for Berks County, Pennsylvania, an ultra states' rights representative in Congress, 1851-1858, serving as chairman of the

¹ In *The Youth's Companion*, February 13, 1896.

committee of ways and means, and who finally closed his public life as United States minister to Austria, 1858-1861. The strictly biographical portion of the work, consisting of about one hundred pages, is devoted to the ancestry and early life of Mr. Jones previous to his first activity in politics in the presidential campaign of 1844. The remainder of the work is more accurately described as material for a biography.

Numerous political speeches by Mr. Jones are reproduced *in extenso* from newspapers and even from the *Congressional Globe*. An appendix of over two hundred pages includes ten letters from James Buchanan, written between June, 1854, and March, 1856, while Buchanan was minister to England, and containing among other things a few remarks pertinent to the approaching Democratic national convention of 1856. The greater part of the appendix consists of official correspondence and despatches of Mr. Jones while serving at Vienna. Here one finds interesting, though not especially illuminating, discussions of questions related to the then recent Declaration of Paris, principally concerning the position of leading powers toward the American proposal to exempt private enemy property from capture at sea. There are also numerous and interesting comments upon contemporary European national and international politics.

The chief defects of this *Life* appear in the eulogistic and uncritical attitude of the author, and in the inclusion in the diplomatic correspondence of much that is of no historical or biographical value whatever, and of lengthy official documents emanating from the Austrian government on the Hungarian complications, 1860-1861, which serve no useful purpose in a work of this kind. A considerable amount of other irrelevant matter is to be found elsewhere, and not a few speeches and running Congressional debates, given in full, might advantageously have been summarized.

The work is well written, and the historical setting when given is generally well done although at times this is colored by the author's obvious sympathy for the extreme Southern position on the question of slavery in the territories, especially in the discussion of the Kansas struggle. Perhaps the portion which is of greatest historical value is that which relates to the formation of Buchanan's Cabinet, the wide expectation that Mr. Jones would be given a portfolio, and the factional contest in Pennsylvania which resulted in preventing his appointment (vol. I., ch. XIX.). The format is highly creditable both to author and publisher.

P. ORMAN RAY.

The True Ulysses S. Grant. By Charles King, Brig.-General U. S. V., 1898-1899. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914, pp. 400.) The writer has essayed an historical problem of extreme difficulty—the portrayal of the life and character of a military hero and political party leader while the threads of facts and fables spun by friends

and enemies are still so enmeshed as to require the hand of the surest critic to unravel the tangle. His qualifications for this task are: a West Point education, a knowledge of post-Civil War frontier life, and a reputation as the leading novelist of American army life. Both story and character are those of the Grand Army of the Republic campfire and of the latter-day war reminiscences of the generals rather than the Grant of his contemporaries or of his own despatches. Grant is presented as the born leader and ruler of destiny displaying from infancy onward the indications of coming greatness to those who had the eyes to see. His deeds in the Mexican campaigns, in which his regimental commander mentioned in his report simply that Grant "was usefully employed in his appropriate duties", become in the hands of this biographer deeds of brilliant valor.

In dealing with the Civil War period the author is not free from bias both for the side of the North and for Grant as against all rivals, except Sherman and Thomas. Where Grant is present all successes are due to him alone, while all faults and failures are due to others, except where Grant in his *Memoirs* has acknowledged otherwise. Any serious military appreciation of Grant's generalship has not been attempted.

The book is marred by a somewhat rambling style and a frequent resort to army slang, which is neither forceful nor suggestive of Grant.

The chapters on Grant at West Point, which appear to be based largely on the writer's own experiences there some twenty years later, are the best and possess charm and color. Twenty-eight photographs display Grant's birthplace and various abodes, including his farmhouse, and many portraits of him and his Civil War comrades, but the unpublished ones are of antiquarian rather than historic interest.

A. L. CONGER.

George Hamilton Perkins, Commodore, U. S. N.: his Life and Letters. By Carroll Storrs Alden. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914, pp. xii, 302.) There has been such a dearth of published narratives and printed letters of American naval officers, that the appearance of such a biography as this is indeed to be welcomed. The official reports forwarded to the Navy Department give us the facts most accurately; the ships' log-books confirm those facts beyond a doubt; but the real story is never known until it is brought to light by the personal accounts of the officers and men who actually participated in the events recounted. It is for this reason that Commodore Perkins's letters, breathing deep of the atmosphere of the sea in the days when sails were slowly giving place to steam, takes us back better even than the historian's scholarly pen to the decks of ships that cruised in an age both picturesque and adventurous.

To the midshipman of to-day there is much comfort in Dr. Alden's account of Perkins's Naval Academy experiences, for these, while different in many particulars from those of the present time, were strangely

like the difficulties, anxieties, and pleasures suffered or enjoyed by the young naval students of the twentieth century. But this is only an introduction to a more interesting theme. Perkins's cruise to the slave coast of West Africa portrays a picture of our old navy heretofore very little known. In his letters written from before New Orleans, from the West Gulf Coast, and from the memorable bay of Mobile, Perkins gives us an account of service under Farragut which is a distinct contribution to the history of the Civil War. And then follows a chapter on Perkins's "later service", in which are quoted what are, perhaps, his most interesting letters, describing his visit to Siam. The concluding pages of the book tell us of the commodore's life on a New Hampshire farm and of his keen enjoyment of spending thus his "retired" years after his experiences afloat of the hardships and delights of the sailor's life. It is an excellent book, an entertaining biography, an important contribution to the history of our navy; and Dr. Alden is to be congratulated for compiling Commodore Perkins's letter and for doing that work so well.

Memorials of Eminent Yale Men: a Biographical Study of Student Life and University Influences during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. By Anson Phelps Stokes. In two volumes. (New Haven, Yale University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. xxii, 368; 452.) While the major title of this work indicates the character of its principal contents, it is in the secondary title that is found the key to its chief purpose. In other words, the aim of the author is not merely to present biographies of Yale men who have attained eminence, but through these biographical studies to set forth something of the life, spirit, and influence of Yale during two centuries of its existence. Out of something more than ten thousand graduates deceased when the quinquennial catalogue of 1910 was issued the author has selected seventy-nine men "of large influence", of whom extended biographies are given, and a supplementary list of the same number, "whose careers are only slightly less significant". These are more briefly sketched. In all cases it is college life and influences that receive the greater emphasis.

"Eminence", the basis of selection, involves, according to the author, "noble qualities of mind and soul", not mere notoriety, "a constructive contribution of broad or enduring significance to the history, thought, or inspiration of the American people". The men thus selected are classified as divines, authors, educational leaders, scholars, men of science, inventors and artists, statesmen, lawyers and jurists, patriots and soldiers.

"There is no field of activity", says Mr. Stokes, "in which Yale's influence has been greater than in that of religion", and he instances four constructive movements in the history of religion to which Yale has made notable contributions. Likewise the university's contribution to education has been notable, one evidence being the long list of college

presidents furnished by Yale. On the other hand the contribution to literature has been relatively small, and a somewhat similar statement is made concerning the field of scholarship, excepting philology and natural science. In the field of statesmanship Yale's position is conspicuous, for Yale graduates were prominent in the Continental Congress, in the Constitutional Convention, and have occupied almost every post of importance in the federal government, from the presidency down. Only a little less prominent is the university's place in the domain of law and jurisprudence, for she has sent forth such men as James Kent, Theodore D. Woolsey, Judah P. Benjamin, and Francis Wharton, and besides has given to the Supreme Court of the United States two chief justices and seven associate justices. Among inventors she claims Eli Whitney and S. F. B. Morse, the latter also an artist of note before he was an inventor.

A long-time "hobby" of the author has been the gathering of autograph letters and documents signed by eminent "Yalensians", and the pages of these volumes are enriched by the production, in whole or in part, of many of these letters. Finally, the author has given a sort of finishing touch to his work by the inclusion of three valuable essays: "Historical Factors of Influence at Yale", "Common Characteristics of most Eminent Yale Men", and "Historic Universities in a Democracy", the latter reprinted from the *Yale Review* of July, 1913.

The French Revolution in San Domingo. By T. Lothrop Stoddard, A.M., Ph.D. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914, pp. xviii, 410.) In 1789 the French part of Santo Domingo was the most prosperous of European colonies. Here lived some forty thousand whites and a little more than half that number of free mulattoes engaged in the common exploitation of some half a million African slaves. With the advent of the revolutionary spirit, however, factional strife arose and eventually a horrible race war ensued; the prosperity of the colony was entirely swept away, the white population was annihilated, and the black state of Haiti had its beginning. It is with this "first great shock between the ideals of white supremacy and race equality" that Dr. Stoddard's book deals. The five opening chapters are of an introductory nature, describing conditions in the colony on the eve of the Revolution. The body of the book falls under two main heads: the dissensions leading to the general collapse of white authority in the year 1793, and the progress of black supremacy as personified in the career of Toussaint Louverture. The story is brought to a close with the coronation, in 1804, of the negro Dessalines as Emperor of Haiti.

In preparing the introductory chapters and those dealing with the years 1789-1791, the author had before him six or eight monographs of indifferent quality and half a dozen of the most accessible books written by contemporaries. The modicum of archival material which he might have examined for these chapters he disregarded, as he did also the pamphlet literature, the official minutes of the Constituent Assembly,

and the journals containing the debates. But in the preparation of subsequent chapters he brought under requisition the collections of manuscript sources in the various archives of Paris. This is the most original portion of the book. After the year 1795 he returned, in part, to secondary material, leaning heavily on Roloff and Poyen.

The book makes a valuable contribution to the literature of the French Revolution in that it gives for the first time a consecutive account, based on scientific monographs and primary sources, of the factional quarrels, the class struggles, and the military campaigns in Santo Domingo during the troublous period of 1789-1804. Though minor errors may be discovered in the statement of facts, the style is simple, clear, and often happy. As if to avoid the appearance of technical scholarship and thus attract the general reader, the author relegates his notes of reference to the back of the book; but at the same time he humors the whim of the special student by appending a brief critical bibliography. The book has no index.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

Latin America: Clark University Addresses. Edited by George H. Blakeslee, Professor of History, Clark University. (New York, G. E. Stechert and Company, 1914, pp. xii, 388.) It is often a question whether any conference held to discuss a matter of huge scope serves a useful purpose beyond that of affording an opportunity for those in attendance to exchange views and become personally acquainted. When no specific phase of the subject is assigned and the speakers are allowed the utmost latitude in the selection of their themes, the result is apt to be a miscellany of side-lights. Occasionally such gleams are illuminating in their respective precincts, even if they intensify somewhat the gloom of the larger areas.

In pronouncing these *obiter dicta* the reviewer does not wish to single out for criticism the series of addresses contained in the present volume. They serve merely to exemplify the point he desires to make. Several of the addresses, if published separately as articles, would have been of greater usefulness than they now are in their enforced association. Others are little more than pleasant generalizations that ring with a familiar sound. Put out together, they form a number of fragments slenderly joined by a comprehensive title. In this shape they emphasize the diversity of the theme and not the co-ordination of its parts.

The order in which the addresses are printed shows that the editor recognized their miscellaneous character and tried to group them in some fashion according to topics. They appear to be distributed into the following sections: general or introductory (3); Mexico (5); the Monroe Doctrine (6); economic questions, with especial reference to the Panama Canal and the foreign trade of the United States (5); political relations of the United States, exclusive of the Monroe Doctrine (4); intellectuality and higher education (3); geography and climatology (3). About as many of them deal with the United States in its connection with Latin America as with that region itself.

COMMUNICATION

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO, MOSCOW, IDAHO, February 8, 1915.

THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Dear Sir,

ON reading, in your January issue, the review of my book on *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe*, I recognize the justice of your reviewer's suggestion that there should have been in my volume a more explicit statement of the nature and extent of my debt to my old teacher, Professor Burr, to whom the work is dedicated. It is quite true, as the reviewer points out, that the framework of my book is substantially drawn (though not without omissions, additions, and other changes) from the *Outlines* printed by him for the use of his classes. These outlines, with his consent, I have long used in my own classes, and my lectures, which were the nucleus of my book, naturally grew up about them. But to the doubt of your reviewer as to "how much farther the debt extends, in what degree the treatment of the topics and the interpretation of the larger movements rest upon the ripe instruction of the Cornell master", I owe it both to Professor Burr and to myself to reply that it was never my good fortune to attend his course on this period. The course in the Renaissance and Reformation was not given in 1901-1902, the one year of my study at Cornell. Direct instruction from him I had only in the earlier history of the Middle Ages and in a "seminary" which that year, for a part of the time, studied the history of persecution and tolerance, though I have since owed to his *Outlines* guidance in my reading, and in our long correspondence historical questions have sometimes been discussed.

Let me add that when I wrote to Professor Burr six years ago about plans I had for two or three books he was kind enough to tell me that he thought I could succeed with a book on the Renaissance and Reformation, that I began work on the book as the result of his suggestion, that its limits were those he named, and that the finished manuscript was sent, chapter by chapter, for his approval. It was through his aid, moreover, that it found a publisher. That the vague phrase of my dedication inadequately defined my debt to him I now see; but he at least will not suspect me of any wish to ignore it or even to obscure it.

That my book had no preface as a place for such an explanation was in part because prefaces have become associated in my mind (perhaps without warrant) with the paraphernalia of learning, and I wished

my book to be learned without making a parade of learning—its text self-explanatory and self-sufficient, embodying the explanations sometimes found in foot-notes and including all necessary references to the sources of information. But it was also in part because it was my chief hope, throughout my six years of unceasing work, to write a book that Professor Burr might find acceptable as a text for his classes at Cornell. For Cornell students, with his *Outlines* in their hands, no other acknowledgment was needed than in my dedication; and other readers, as I see plainly now, entered too slightly into my thought.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, who has been a member of the Board of Editors of this journal since April, 1899, and from 1901 to 1905 was managing editor, resigned from the Board in December. The REVIEW is indebted, to an extent beyond what can be here expressed, to Professor McLaughlin's knowledge, good judgment, and devotion to its interests. Professor Carl Becker of Kansas University was chosen in his place by the Executive Council of the American Historical Association.

A General Index to volumes XI.-XX. of this journal will be prepared as soon as possible after the issue of the July number, which completes vol. XX. This index, as well as that for vols. I.-X. published ten years ago, may be ordered now for \$1; after the publication of the second index both will be sold by Macmillans at \$1.25 each. This price is for books in paper binding. This may be the proper place to mention that the publishers have appropriate binders for the REVIEW and for these indexes, in black half-morocco, of a uniform and appropriate design.

Readers of this journal will perhaps be interested to know, what may not have been previously explained, that since 1912 Professor George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, has given the editors invaluable help by preparing nearly all those items of historical news which are derived from examination of the French, German, and Italian periodicals and pamphlets of each quarter.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The special meeting to be held this summer in California will occupy three days, July 21, 22, and 23, the sessions of those three days being held at San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto respectively. The morning session of the first day will be devoted to papers on the Spanish American states and the Pacific Ocean; the afternoon session to papers on the United States (especially the Pacific Coast states) and the Pacific Ocean. The morning session of the second day will be occupied with problems connected with the teaching of history and especially of general American and Western American history, the afternoon session with papers upon the exploration of the Pacific Ocean. On the third day the morning session will be devoted to Australia and the Pacific Ocean, the afternoon session to Japan and the Pacific Ocean. Thus the meeting will bear an especial character, appropriate to the occasion, and will make no effort to cover all the fields generally traversed by the Association in its regular meetings. The American Asiatic Association, which holds its meeting on July 19 and 20, is expected to have papers upon the history

of China and the Philippines and of their relations to the Pacific Ocean and to other Asiatic countries. The chairman of the Committee on Programme is Professor Frederic L. Thompson (of Amherst College), who may be addressed at the University of California, Berkeley.

The London Branch of the Association began in January the occupation of a commodious and pleasing room in the new house of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, which will hereafter be the address of the London Branch and of its secretary, Mr. Arthur Percival Newton. Mr. Henry P. Biggar has, by vote of the Executive Council, been made treasurer in succession to Miss Frances G. Davenport. The house of the Royal Historical Society, one marked by much dignity and comfort, affords accommodations also for the (English) Historical Association. Members of our London Branch are kindly permitted to use the library of the Royal Historical Society. Persons wishing further information about the London Branch, for use this summer, may write to J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Miss Violet Barbour's prize essay, *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State to Charles II.*, has been published by the Association in a volume of 303 pages. Subscriptions may be sent to the Secretary; the price, to members, is one dollar, to others, \$1.50.

The issue for 1913 of the annual bibliography *Writings on American History*, edited by Miss Grace G. Griffin, is expected to appear in April or May. Members of the Association are earnestly requested to increase the sales of this manual. Orders should be sent to the Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

In the *Original Narratives* series, *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690*, edited by Professor Charles M. Andrews, was published by Scribner in February. The autumn will see the publication of a volume entitled *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1691*, edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. This volume will consist mainly of pieces which have not hitherto been published in English translation, relating to the history of movements of exploration and occupation in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.

As has been intimated upon an earlier page, the continued existence of the *History Teacher's Magazine* depends upon the completion of a fund which its Advisory Board of Editors is endeavoring to raise. Success is still far from certain, and friends of the magazine are urged to send subscriptions to the chairman of the board, Professor Henry Johnson, Teachers College, New York City, or to the treasurer of the fund, J. F. Jameson, at the office of this journal.

The January number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* contains a scholarly study, by Professor W. S. Ferguson, of the Founding of the Roman Principate and its Development into a Monarchy, and part I. of

an interesting investigation, by Professor W. F. Russell of the George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, into the Early Methods in Teaching History in Secondary Schools. The latter study is concluded in the February number, which also contains a paper by W. Dawson Johnston on the Library and History Study, two articles, "A Fragment of the Passing Frontier" and "The Last American Frontier", by Dr. Mary W. Williams and L. A. Chase, respectively, and an article on the Military Organization of the Roman Empire, by Dr. George H. Allen. The March number includes a suggestive article, Teaching the War, by Dr. G. Stanley Hall, and Recent Aspects of British Electoral Reform, by Dr. Charles Seymour.

PERSONAL

General Charles Francis Adams, president of the American Historical Association in 1901, died at Washington on March 20; he was nearly eighty years old, but had maintained in old age exceptional health and vigor. Born in 1835, the second son of Charles Francis Adams, he served throughout the Civil War as a cavalry officer, and before its close attained the brevet rank of brigadier-general of volunteers. His distinguished military services left a deep impress upon his mind; he was always afterward an eager student of military history, especially of the history of the Civil War, and a keen and vigorous writer upon themes in that field. After the war he became identified with railway interests; for ten years he was a member, for seven years chairman, of the railway commission of Massachusetts, for thirteen years a government director, for six years, 1884-1890, president, of the Union Pacific Railroad. *Chapters of Erie*, published in 1871, established his reputation as a thoughtful and incisive writer on public affairs. Never holding a public office adequate to his remarkable powers, he took a strong interest in the affairs of his town, his state, and the nation, and wrote much on subjects in these fields. Widely informed, clear-headed, disinterested, attached to no party, inheriting from at least three preceding generations an absolutely independent and fearless American mind, he made contributions of signal importance to many public discussions, and showed a high example of rational patriotism. As an overseer of Harvard University during twenty-four years, he exerted a notable influence on American higher education there and elsewhere. The last twenty-five years of his life were largely devoted, in spite of many public services and public addresses, to American history, his first publications in that field being two Prince Society volumes (*Morton's New English Canaan* and *Anti-nomianism*), an excellent life of R. H. Dana (1890), and *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (1892). In 1895 he was elected president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which thereafter constantly received for twenty years the benefits of his care, his generosity, his energizing power, and his modernness of view. Most of what he wrote in these twenty years was contributed to the society's *Proceedings*—vig-

orous and entertaining papers like those collected in *Lee at Appomattox and other Papers* (1902) and *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (1911), relating sometimes to the military history of the Revolution, sometimes to the Secession controversy, which he treated with characteristic magnanimity, but of late more often to the diplomatic history of the United States in the period from 1861 to 1872, the period of his father's diplomatic career. In 1900 he published a brief biography of his father which is one of the best volumes in the *American Statesmen* series, and during all his remaining years he was occupied, with abundant materials but with many interruptions, in the preparation of a larger biography. All students of the period will lament that only part of it is completed, for Mr. Adams had an unrivalled knowledge of the field, and gifts of clear and vivid historical exposition that should have had an ampler field of exercise than was afforded by any of his published books. To this journal he was, throughout its history, a valued contributor. His interest in the American Historical Association continued active after the year of his presidency, and he was often the host of the Executive Council at the time of its annual meeting. As host at dinners he was seen at his best—hospitable, genial, and immensely entertaining by reason of his great store of experience and remembrance, and the humor and pungency of his speech. Sometimes gruff in manner, he was at heart notably kind, especially to younger men; and he was a fine model of independent, manly, and vigorous, but cultivated and generous character.

Paul Viollet, professor of the history of civil and canon law in the École des Chartes and librarian of the law faculty of Paris, died on November 22, 1914, aged sixty-four years. He edited for the Society of the History of France the *Établissements de Saint-Louis* (1881-1886) and wrote and edited much else relative to Saint Louis. His best-known works are *Précis de l'Histoire du Droit Français* (2 vols., 1884-1886; second ed. 1893) and *Histoire des Institutions Politiques et Administratives de la France* (3 vols., 1890-1893).

Joseph Déchelette, director of the Museum of Roanne, died of wounds received at Vic-sur-Aisne on October 3, 1914, at the age of fifty-three years. He was the author of the masterly *Manuel d'Archéologie Pré-historique, Celtique, et Gallò-Romaine* (4 vols., 1910-1913), which he left incomplete.

Robert Pöhlmann, professor of ancient history in the University of Munich, died on September 27, 1914, aged sixty-two years. His most important work was *Geschichte des Antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus* (1893-1901; new edition, 1913).

Miss Katharine Coman, professor emeritus of economics and sociology in Wellesley College, and author of an *Industrial History of the United States* (1905) and of *The Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (1911), died on January 11.

Father Franz Ehrle, S.J., prefect of the Vatican Library since 1893, helpful friend of all who in that period have worked in library or archives, and the originator of the consultation-library and many other aids to investigators there, has resigned his position, and has been succeeded by Dr. Achille Ratti, hitherto prefect of the Ambrosiana at Milan.

Mr. George P. Winship, who has been librarian of the John Carter Brown Library for twenty years—beginning even before it became a public institution—has resigned this position to become librarian of the Widener Collection in the library of Harvard University.

At Yale Dr. Hiram Bingham has been made professor of Latin American history.

At Columbia University Dr. Charles A. Beard and Dr. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch have been advanced to the full rank of professors, of history and of economic history respectively, Dr. Carlton Hayes has been made associate professor, and Dr. B. B. Kendrick assistant professor.

Professor Dana C. Munro of the University of Wisconsin has been called to and has accepted the chair of medieval history in Princeton University.

Professor L. Van der Essen of the University of Louvain is lecturing at the University of Chicago from January to June in Belgian history and other historical fields.

GENERAL

The editors of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* have announced the suspension of publication of that review until the close of the war. The *Revue Historique* and the *Historische Zeitschrift* have continued to appear. Other historical reviews in Germany and France have either failed to appear or have appeared at irregular intervals since the outbreak of the war.

Among the recent volumes on the problems of history are the second and concluding volume of Kemmerich, *Das Kausalgesetz der Weltgeschichte* (Munich, Langen, 1914); A. Görland, *Ethik als Kritik der Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914); J. Hirsch, *Die Genesis des Ruhmes: ein Beitrag zur Methodenlehre der Geschichte* (Leipzig, Barth, 1914, pp. xv, 286); W. Bauer, *Die Oeffentliche Meinung und ihre Geschichtlichen Grundlagen* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1914); an English translation, with the title *Historical Materialism and the Economics of Karl Marx* (London, Latimer, 1914, pp. 212), of the work of B. Croce; and L. Berg, *Das Problem der Klimaänderung in Geschichtlicher Zeit* (Leipzig, Teubner).

A. C. McClurg and Company will bring out *The Teaching of History*, by Oskar Jäger, translated by H. J. Claytor.

The January *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains (pp. 9-126) a list of works in that library relating to Persia. It is announced that the check-list of newspapers and official gazettes which in the December number came to the end of the alphabetical series of cities, will

be completed by the addition of two indexes and printed as a separate publication. The February *Bulletin*, besides a list of books on the European war recently added, contains a selected list of references on the economic and social aspects of war in general. The acquisition of a part of the papers of Hon. Perry G. Childs of Cazenovia, N. Y., 1817-1822, state senator and member of the Council of Appointment, is noted. But the main contents of the *Bulletin* is a general account of the new manuscript division, by Victor H. Paltsits, keeper of manuscripts, followed by a list of the library's manuscript collections supplementary to that published in 1901.

Vol. XXI, no. 1, of the *Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige* (pp. 192) consists entirely of the first installment of a treatise by Professor Oscar Montelius on the forms, construction, and development of the human dwelling, from prehistoric times, based on material drawn from the most varied regions, and with many illustrations.

S. Krauss has collected in a small volume several *Studien zur Byzantinisch-Jüdischen Geschichte* (Vienna, 1914, pp. vii, 160). N. Ferorelli has prepared an account of *Gli Ebrei nell' Italia Meridionale dall' Età Romana al Secolo XVIII*. (Turin, *Il Vessillo Israelitico*, 1915, pp. 262). The seventeenth centenary of the death of Maimonides is commemorated by the two volumes of *Mose ben Maimon: Leben, Werke, und Einfluss* (Leipzig, 1914) prepared by W. Bacher, M. Brann, D. Simonsen, and J. Guttmann. A thesis entitled *Notes sur le Judaïsme Libéral de 1750 à 1913* (Montauban, 1914, pp. 146) is by G. Rivals. On the eve of the war S. Wininger published the first section of a *Biographisches Lexikon Berühmter Juden aller Zeiten und Länder* (Czernowitz, 1914, pp. 64), which it is to be hoped he will be able to bring to completion.

The *Bibliothek* of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome has been enriched by the publication of *Von Nizza bis Crépy: Europäische Politik 1538-1544*, by Dr. Ludwig Cardauns, and of *Ernst August von Hannover und die Katholische Kirche*, by Dr. Philipp Hildebrandt. A second volume of the latter's *Preussen und die Römische Kurie* is in the press; also the second of Dr. F. Schneider's *Regestum Senense*, the first of Dr. A. Haseloff's *Die Hohenstaufischen Bauten in Süditalien*, and the first of the *Repertorium Germanicum*, ed. E. Göller. Professor Karl Schellhass has practically finished the manuscript of the concluding volume of the *Nuntiaturberichte* of Felician Ninguarda.

Die Litis Contestatio in ihrer Entwicklung vom Frühen Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zivilprozesses (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914) was written by Dr. Rudolf Sohm the younger.

Recent issues of the series of monographs on church history under the title *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, include S. Rosch, *Zur Neuern Literatur über Nestorius*; K. Kneller, *Der hl. Cyprian und das Kennzeichen*

der Kirche; S. Sträter, *Die Vertreibung der Jesuiten aus Deutschland im Jahre 1872*; and D. Stöckerl, *Bruder David von Augsburg: ein Deutsche Mystiker aus dem Franziskanerorden*.

Professor G. Seeliger has published a series of facsimiles of *Urkunden und Siegel* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914) for class use. The work is obtainable in four separate parts: the first (pp. 32, 20 plates) contains *Kaiserurkunden*, edited by Professor Seeliger; the second (pp. 40, 16 plates) contains *Papsturkunden*, edited by Professor A. Brackmann; the third (pp. 40, 15 plates) contains *Privaturkunden*, edited by Professor O. Redlich and Dr. L. Gross; and the fourth (pp. 34, 11 plates) contains *Siegel*, edited by Professor F. Philippi. The low price of five marks a part adds to their availability.

The *American Year-Book* for 1914 (Appleton) edited by Francis G. Wickware, contains reviews of events and of progress in the usual wide variety of fields. These are written for the most part by competent specialists and are of great value. Naturally the chief variation from the forms of other volumes consists in the section on the European war.

The Library of Congress has issued its serial *List of Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1913*.

Historical Essays on Apprenticeship and Vocational Education, by Dr. Jonathan F. Scott of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor Press, 1914, pp. 96), consists partly of chapters from a thesis, well worked out, but of which the remaining chapters were made less necessary by Miss Dunlop's *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*; and partly of additional but related essays.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Peyre, *Coup d'Oeil sur l'Origine des Villes, sur les Causes de leur Situation, de leur Développement, de leur Transformation, et de leur Décadence* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); J. A. Wilgus, *The Teaching of History in the Elementary School* (Educational Review, February); Frederic Duncalf, *Some Reasons for teaching Social and Economic History in the High School History Courses* (Texas History Teachers' Bulletin, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Schweich Lectures for 1912, delivered by Dr. C. H. W. Johns, dealt with the code of Hammurabi, of which it will be remembered Dr. Johns published an English translation in 1903. The lectures have now been published in a volume entitled *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (Oxford University Press), with the addition of a valuable preface and bibliography.

A volume of *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914) has been published by A. Ungnad.

In *Lands and Peoples of the Bible* (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1914) Mr. James Baikie endeavors to provide the historical and

geographical background needful for an intelligent study of the Old Testament. The book is divided into three sections, dealing respectively with Palestine, Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and Egypt. The results of the archaeological investigations of the last half-century are summarized in convenient and readable form, and while the book is avowedly written at second hand it is based upon the best authorities, such as Hall, Maspero, Hilprecht, Petrie, Goodspeed, Breasted, and others.

An excellent piece of work is William N. Tarn's *Antigonos Gonatas*, published by the Clarendon Press.

Recent additions to the *Loeb Classical Library* are: vol. III. of Dio's *Roman History*, the English translation by Earnest Cary; two volumes of Plutarch's *Lives*, translated by Bernadotte Perrin; vol. I. of Procopius, translated by H. B. Dewing; vol. II. of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, translated by Walter Miller; and Caesar's *Civil Wars*, translated by A. G. Peskett.

Art and Archaeology for February and March has well-illustrated articles on the Roman Theatre, by Professor Charles Knapp of Columbia University.

In the list of doctoral dissertations in history published in our last number, mention might have been made of two Princeton dissertations lately printed, one by Mr. L. R. Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*, and one by Mr. C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire* (Princeton University Press); of a Princeton dissertation by Mr. C. R. Small, not yet in press, "A History of the Roman Legion VI. Ferrata"; and of one by Mr. R. H. Lacey, "A Study of Certain Roman Officials in the Second Century of our Era".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Montelius, *När började man allmänt använda Järn?* (Fornvännen, 1913; translated as *Wann begann die Allgemeine Verwendung des Eisens?* Praehistorische Zeitschrift, V.); A. Kohn, *Die Prähistorischen Perioden in Palästina* (Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, XLIV. 3); P. Waltz, *Les Artisans et leur Vie en Grèce des Temps Homériques à l'Époque Classique: le Siècle de Hésiode* (Revue Historique, September); K. J. Beloch, *Die Schlacht an der Trebia* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIV. 1.); F. F. Abbott, *Referendum and Recall among the Romans* (Sewanee Review, February); H. de La Ville de Mirmont, *Cn. Domitius Corbulo* (Revue Historique, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The period of the early church is covered by Giobbio, *Chiesa e Stato nei Primi Secoli del Cristianesimo*, 40-476 (Milan, Cogliati, 1914), and from another point of view by Strathman, *Geschichte der Frühchristlichen Askese bis zur Entstehung des Mönchtums im Religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhange* (vol. I., Leipzig, Deichert, 1914).

Recent biographies of the church fathers include *Clement of Alexandria: a Study in Christian Liberalism* (London, Williams and Norgate, 1914, 2 vols.) by R. B. Tollington; *Das Leben Cyprians von Pontius: die Erste Christliche Biographie Untersucht* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914) by A. Harnack; and *Saint Justin, Philosophe, Martyr* (Paris, Gabalda, 1914) by M. J. Lagrange.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Windisch, *Der Untergang Jerusalems (Anno 70) im Urteil der Christen und Juden* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, XLVIII. 6); A. Jäggli, *Von Konstantin zu Augustinus: Gedanken zur Entstehung der Mittelalterlichen Gottesstaatsidee* (Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift, XXXI. 1, 4).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: L. Bréhier, *Publications relatives à l'Histoire Byzantine* (Revue Historique, September).

Many interesting questions are raised by D. S. Margoliouth in *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, the Hibbert Lectures for 1913 (Scribner's Sons).

The first part of *Saint Clare of Assisi: her Life and Legislation*, by Ernest Gilliat-Smith (Dent) is comparatively unimportant, as it adds nothing to our knowledge of the life of Saint Clare, but much that is of value is brought out in the latter half of the book, which deals with the rules observed by the Poor Clares.

H. Singer has published *Die Dekretalensammlung des Bernardus Compostellanus Antiquus, mit Benutzung der in Friedrich Maassens Nachlasse enthaltenen Vorarbeiten* (Vienna, Hölder, 1914, pp. 129) in volume 171 of the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy. *Die Ausgaben der Apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII., Klemens VI., und Innocenz VI., 1335-1362* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914, pp. xvi, 935) has been edited by K. H. Schäfer.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Krammer, *Forschungen zur Lex Salica*, I. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXIX. 3); B. von Simson, *Pseudoisidor und die Le Mans-Hypothese* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, XXXV.); H. Fehr, *Das Waffenrecht der Bauern im Mittelalter* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung, XXXV.), K. Beyerle, *Die Pflughaften* (*ibid.*); H. Wirtz, *Donum, Investitura, Conductus Ecclesiae: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Stellenbesetzungsrechtes auf Grund Rheinischer Urkunden, vornehmlich des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung, XXXV.); H. Mitteis, *Beaumanoir und die Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Prozessrechts* (*ibid.*).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: E. Driault, *Histoire Extérieure du Premier Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

H. Merbach has outlined the age-long struggle between Teuton and Slav in *Die Slavenkriege des Deutschen Volkes* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1914) and Dr. F. Quadflieg has discussed *Russische Expansionspolitik, 1774-1914* (Berlin, Dümmler, 1914).

Le Fonds Lorrain aux Archives Impériales et Royales de Vienne (Nancy, Crépin-Leblond, 1913, pp. 52) by M. Dieterlen, which is a reprint from the *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine*, is the first attempt to give some account of these materials, which were moved to Florence in 1737 and to Vienna in 1765. A recent volume of Lorraine history is *La Vie à la Cour de Lorraine sous le Règne du Duc Henri II., 1608-1624* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1914) by H. Roy.

Mr. Francis Abell is the author of a careful work entitled *Prisoners of War in Britain, 1756 to 1815* (Humphrey Milford). A volume of similar interest is *Prisoners of War in France, 1804-1814, being the Adventures of John Tregerthen Short and Thomas Williams of St. Ives, Cornwall*, with an introduction by Sir Edward Hain (Duckworth and Company).

Some side-lights on the treaty of Amiens and its rupture will be found in W. Stroh, *Das Verhältnis zwischen Frankreich und England in den Jahren 1801-1803 im Urteil der Politischen Literatur Deutschlands* (Berlin, Ebering, 1914).

Germany, France, Russia, and Islam, by Heinrich von Treitschke, in English translation, has been published by Jarrold and Sons and Allen and Unwin, as has also *Treitschke: his Life and Works*.

Successive phases of the Eastern Question are treated in E. Peters, *Die Orientpolitik Friedrichs des Grossen nach dem Frieden von Teschen, 1779-1786* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1914), which is a brief thesis; in Professor A. Hasenclever, *Die Orientalische Frage in den Jahren 1838-1841; Ursprung des Meerengenvertrages vom 13. Juli 1841* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1914); and in T. von Sosnosky, *Die Balkanpolitik Oesterreich-Ungarns seit 1866* (vol. II., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914, pp. x, 405).

The Cambridge University Press has in preparation *Modern France, 1815-1900*, by W. A. J. Archbold; *Modern Germany*, by J. W. Headlam; and a volume by D. G. Hogarth, *The Levant, 1815-1900*.

Of the *Oxford Pamphlets*, mostly relating to the war, three may be especially useful to those seeking rapid surveys of the most recent European history: *Austrian Policy since 1867*, by Murray Beaven; *Italian Policy since 1870*, by Keith Feiling; *Greek Policy since 1882*, by Arnold J. Toynbee (Oxford University Press).

Volume IV. of John Theodore Merz's *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Blackwood) deals with the ethical and social problems of the century.

The Macmillan Company is shortly to publish *A History of Persia*, in two volumes, by Lieut.-Col. P. M. Sykes, the author of *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*.

Le Sultanat d'Oman: Étude d'Histoire Diplomatique et de Droit International, la Question de Muscate (Paris, Pedone, 1914, pp. 273) is a law thesis by Prince Firouz Kajare.

Marc, *Quelques Années de Politique Internationale, Antécédents de la Guerre Russo-Japonaise* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1914), and the third and concluding volume of Freiherr von Maltzahn, *Der Seekrieg zwischen Russland und Japan, 1904 bis 1905* (Berlin, Mittler, 1914, pp. x, 262) are recent additions to the literature of the Russo-Japanese War.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Dürr, *Das Mailändische Kapitulat, Savoyen, und der Burgundisch-Schweizerische Vertrag vom Jahre 1467* (Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, XIV. 1); J. Calmette, *La Politique Espagnole dans la Crise de l'Indépendance Bretonne, 1488-1492* (Revue Historique, November); L. M. Sears, *Glimpses Economic of the Sixteenth Century* (Sewanee Review, January); W. Platzhoff, *Die Gesandtschaftsberichte Hubert Languets als Historische Quelle und als Spiegel seiner Persönlichkeit* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIII. 3); Comte G. de Mun, *Un Conclave de Six Mois au Milieu du XVIII^e Siècle et son Résultat Imprévu; l'Élection de Benoît XIV., Février-Août 1740* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1); J. A. R. Marriott, *England and the Low Countries* (Edinburgh Review, January); C. Schmidt, *Anvers et le Système Continental, 1792-1814* (Revue de Paris, February 1); Major G. M. Orr, *The War in Poland and East Prussia, 1806-1807* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, November); Commandant Weil, *Autour du Congrès de Vienne: le Vol de l'Aigle* (Revue de Paris, January 1, 15); B. Schwertfeger, *Vom Wiener Kongress: Briefe des Oberstleutnants von Thile an den Kriegsminister von Boyen während des Kongresses* (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November); A. Malet, *À propos de la Candidature Hohenzollern* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); C. Benoist, *La Crise de l'État Moderne: le "Mythe" de "la Classe Ouvrière"* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); C. Ferraro, *L'Origine Storica delle Fortificazioni dei Dardanelli* (Nuova Antologia, February 1); Captain W. T. Hoadley, U. S. M. C., translator, *Operations around Port Arthur, I.: the Official Version of the Japanese General Staff* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, November-December).

THE GREAT WAR

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of References on Europe and International Politics in Relation to the Present Issues* (pp. 144),

compiled under the direction of the chief bibliographer, Mr. H. H. B. Meyer; also, a *List of Publications bearing on the War* has been issued in London as a pamphlet of modest dimensions by the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations.

The French "Yellow Book" mentioned in our last number has been issued in English translation by the British government under the title *Diplomatic Correspondence respecting the War, published by the French Government* (Cd. 7717, pp. 194). The American Association for International Conciliation has also issued, as no. 86 of its series *International Conciliation*, and as the fourth of its groups of *Documents regarding the European War*, a pamphlet containing a speech by Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag, December 2, 1914, and the correspondence, July 24–August 29, 1914, printed in the Belgian "Gray Book"; and as no. 87, a fifth group, the "Yellow Book" above mentioned. No. 85 contained treaties and documents relating to the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, and several official Japanese documents.

A great number of the diplomatic documents of the war, from the German, Russian, Austrian, Belgian, British, and French official books, have been united in a volume edited by M. P. Price, *The Diplomatic History of the War* (imported by Scribner). The *New York Times's* monthly *History* is also an important collection.

One of the most remarkable German publications since the outbreak of the war is *Kriegsaufsätze* (Munich, Bruckmann, 1914, pp. 98), a collection of six articles by Houston S. Chamberlain, the English-born son-in-law of Richard Wagner. W. Klette has collected translations from the writers of the various allied nations and caricatures from their journals, criticizing or ridiculing another of the allied nations, under the title *Unsere Feinde, wie sie einander Lieben* (Munich, Delphin-Verlag, 1914, pp. 187). Under the title of *Privateigentum im Seekriege* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914, pp. xiv, 171) Professor T. Niemeyer published before the war a translation of Lord Loreburn's work, with an introduction which adds to the current interest of the book.

Several series of pamphlets, similar to the *Oxford Pamphlets*, are being published in Germany to popularize information on international questions bearing on the present war. *Deutsche Vorträge Hamburger Professoren* (Hamburg, Friederichsen); *Zwischen Krieg und Frieden* (Leipzig, Hirzel); *Der Deutsche Krieg, Politische Flugschriften*, edited by E. Jäckh (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt); and *Deutsche Reden in Schwerer Zeit* (Berlin, Heymann) are the titles of different series. In France, this campaign of education is being waged by the Comité Michelet, Société d'Éducation Nationale par l'Histoire, which is publishing a monthly *Bulletin Michelet* (Paris, Alcan) at a subscription price of five francs. In a series of *Études et Documents sur la Guerre* (Paris, Colin), E. Durkheim and E. Denis have written *Qui a Voulu la Guerre?*, and Professor J. Bédier has illustrated with facsimiles of the

German originals, chiefly soldiers' diaries, *Les Crimes Allemands d'après des Témoignages Allemands*.

The December issue (XL. 1) of the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* bears the legend "Erstes Kriegsheft", and contains announcement of at least two similar numbers to appear in the near future. These numbers are also to be published separately under the title, *Krieg und Wirtschaft*. The articles included deal with the economic and related problems of the present war. The *Internationale Monatschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Technik* also entitles its October issue (IX. 1) "Erstes Kriegsheft", and contains appropriate articles by Harnack, Eucken, Troeltsch, and others. The October and November numbers of the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* bear the additional title "Das Neue Deutschland", and the December number, "Das Alte Deutschland", and contain an interesting array of timely articles by leading German historians and other authors.

The second volume of *Guerre de 1914, Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1915) contains the documents from October 15 to January 1. Several similar publications contain more or less of the same materials arranged for different classes of users. One of the "best sellers" is Léon Daudet, *L'Avant-Guerre: Études et Documents sur l'Espionnage Juif-Allemand en France depuis l'Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1914, pp. vi, 312). Gaston Jollivet, *Six Mois de Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1915) is but a brief résumé with the familiar documents.

A fortnightly magazine, *La Guerre des Nations*, has been started by Tedesco of Paris, with a foreign subscription rate of 28 francs. In addition to the serial histories of the war mentioned in the previous number, the following are now in course of publication: *Pages Actuelles* (Paris, Bloud and Gay); Émile Hinzelin, *1914: Histoire Illustrée de la Guerre du Droit* (Paris, Quillet); F. Baudouin, *Historique de la Guerre* (Niort, Martin); H. Frobenius, *Deutsche Schwertschrift, Erläuterte Chronik des Ersten Weltkrieges auf Grund von Urkunden und Amtlichen Berichten* (Berlin, Curtius); Professor E. Engel, *1914: ein Tagebuch* (Brunswick, Westermann); and *Der Krieg* (Stuttgart, Franckh). C. H. Baer has published the first volume of *Der Völkerkrieg, eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914* (Stuttgart, Hoffmann, 1915, pp. x, 328), which is distinctly better than a mere chronicle.

The most complete study thus far made in America of the diplomatic correspondence published by England, Russia, Belgium, and Germany is *The Evidence in the Case*, by James M. Beck, formerly an assistant attorney-general of the United States (Putnam, pp. 200). Mr. Beck examines the documents from the point of view of a lawyer interested in historical study, in an endeavor to place the immediate moral responsibility for the war. While it is of course impossible to

have access to all the documents requisite for the formulation of a final judgment, so many documents have been made public that an attempt to form a tentative judgment should appear permissible even to the historian. At the time of going to press the French *Yellow Book* had just appeared and Mr. Beck takes cognizance of it in a foot-note. The Austrian *Red Book* has been put out since the publication of Mr. Beck's book.

Among the many books that have appeared on the causes of the war one of the most adequate seems to be *The New Map of Europe* by Herbert Adams Gibbons (Century Company, pp. 412). The volume is primarily a study of the conflict of interests in Africa and the Near East during the last decade, and more especially since 1911. The scope of the work is well indicated by such chapter headings as: Germany in Alsace and Lorraine, The "Weltpolitik" of Germany, Algieras and Agadir, Italia Irredenta, the Young Turk Régime, Crete and European Diplomacy, the War between the Balkan States and Turkey, the Albanian Fiasco, etc. A residence of some years in Constantinople has enabled Mr. Gibbons to observe much at first hand, indeed has perhaps caused over-emphasis of Balkan affairs. Mr. Gibbons maintains a detached point of view and does not allow the main issues to be lost from sight amid conflicting and varied details.

Kitchener, Organizer of Victory, by Harold Begbie (Houghton Mifflin), is mainly devoted to an effort to present to the English-speaking world the real as contrasted with the "legendary" Kitchener. It is a character sketch of some hundred pages, displayed upon a slight framework of biography and history.

First-hand statements concerning any important episodes of the war, written by eye-witnesses trained in history and having a high position in the historical world, will not be too numerous. It is therefore justifiable to direct particular attention to *A Statement about the Destruction of Louvain and Neighborhood*, by Professor Léon Van der Essen of the University of Louvain, though it is but a privately printed pamphlet of 24 pages (Chicago, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Hovelague, *Les Causes Profondes de la Guerre* (Revue du Mois, December); L. Bertrand, *Nietzsche et la Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); Yves Guyot, *Les Causes de la Guerre*, I.-IV. (Journal des Économistes, August, September, October, November); A. Gauvain, *Les Origines de la Guerre*, I.-III. (Revue de Paris, November 15, December 1, 15); L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les Causes Économiques et Politiques de la Conflagration Européenne* (Scientia, January); W. J. Ashley, *The Economical Side of the European Conflagration* (*ibid.*); Wilhelm Wundt, *Deutschland im Lichte des Neutralen und des Feindlichen Auslandes* (*ibid.*); E. Daniels, *Zur Genesis des Krieges* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); *id.*, *Britische Illusionen* (*ibid.*, December); Guglielmo Ferrero, *Le Conflit Européen d'après les Documents Diplomatiques* (Revue des Deux Mondes, Decem-

ber 15); F. L. Baty, *The Neutrality of Belgium* (Quarterly Review, January); L. Renault, *La Guerre et le Droit des Gens au XX^e Siècle* (Revue du Mois, September 10); Oliver Lodge, *The War from a British Point of View* (Scientia, February); G. von Below, *Militarismus und Kultur in Deutschland* (*ibid.*); Dr. Peters, *Unsere Feinde und das Völkerrecht* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); C. Andler, *Les Usages de la Guerre et la Doctrine de l'État-Major Allemand* (Revue du Mois, November); G. A. di Cesarò, *La Dottrina Tedesca sul Valore dei Trattati Internazionali* (Rassegna Contemporanea, January 20, 30, February 10); E. Altier, *Journal d'une Française en Allemagne, Juillet-Octobre, 1914* (Revue de Paris, January 15, February 1); A. Séché, *Le Général Joffre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 16).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne* (Revue Historique, November).

Two lists important to American historical scholars were added in 1914 by the Public Record Office to its folio series of *Lists and Indexes*. No. XLI. (pp. 208) is a list of the Foreign Office records down to 1837. No. XLIII. (pp. 145) is a list of volumes of state papers relating to Great Britain and Ireland including the Home Office records from 1782 to 1837. Useful dated lists of secretaries of state are prefixed.

At the London Public Record Office, gaps in the series of transcripts from Paris have been filled; and students should take notice that the bundles of these transcripts have been renumbered.

Under the title *Magna Charta Barons and their Descendants* (Philadelphia, 1915), Mr. Charles H. Browning, genealogist of the Baronial Order of Runnemeade, presents a history of Magna Carta based on secondary authorities, its text, a body of biographical sketches of the barons named as sureties, and (the main substance of the book) the pedigrees of various members of this baronial order, to whom alone the book is issued.

The Lincoln Record Society has completed two volumes, *Lincoln Wills, 1271-1526*, ed. C. W. Foster, and the *Rolls of Bishop Hugh de Welles*, vol. III., and has the rolls of Bishops Grosseteste and Lexington and *Visitations of Religious Houses, 1420-1436*, almost ready. Work on *Libri Cleri* and *Final Concordes temp. Henry III.* still continues. Volume II. (1599-1638) of the Boston Parish Register is nearing completion, as is also the Register of St. Margaret's, Lincoln (1538-1837). Volumes projected for the near future are *Chapter Acts of Lincoln Cathedral temp. Henry VIII.*, *Accounts of the Nunnery of St. Michaels, Stamford*, *Visitations of Religious Houses, 1436-1450*, vol. II. of *Lincoln Wills*, and *Domesday and other Early Surveys*.

The Scottish History Society during the year 1914 issued to its members the following books: *Highland Papers*, ed. J. R. N. Macphail; *Selec-*

tions from the *Records of the Regality of Melrose*, ed. C. S. Romanes; and *Records of the Earldom of Orkney*, ed. J. S. Clouston. Volumes to be issued shortly are: A. Francis Steuart's *The Scots in Poland*; Dr. W. B. Blaikie's *Origins of the '45: Selections from Bailie Steuart's Letter-Book*; *Rentale Dunkeldense*; the second volume of *Warriston's Diary*; the second volume of *Highland Papers*; and *Letters of the Earl of Seafield and others to Godolphin relating to Scotland in the Reign of Queen Anne*, edited by Professor P. Hume Brown.

The National Library of Wales has issued a *Bibliography of Robert Owen the Socialist, 1771-1858* (Aberystwyth, 1914, pp. 54).

The University of Cambridge will soon publish *The Development of Transportation in Modern England*, by Professor W. T. Jackman of the University of Vermont.

Charles Stewart Parnell (Holt), by his brother John Howard Parnell, is an intimate study which throws much light on the character of Parnell.

The South African Year Book, 1914, edited by W. H. Hosking (Dutton) is based on official sources and promises to be a useful annual.

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Venice and Northern Italy*, vol. XX., ed. A. B. Hinds; *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, Richard II., vol. I., 1377-1381, eds. W. H. B. Bird and C. T. Flower.

Other documentary publications: *Diocesis Roffensis Registrum Hamonis Hethe*, pars prima, and *Diocesis Saresbiriensis Registrum Simonis de Gandavo*, pars prima (Canterbury and York Society); *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-First Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1184-1185* (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. XXXIV.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *The National Records* (Edinburgh Review, October); A. Schulten, *Birrenswark, ein Britannisches Numantia* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXIII. 9); J. MacNeill, *On the Reconstruction and Date of the Laud Synchronisms* (Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, X. 1); A. G. von Hamel, *On Lebor Gabála* (Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, X. 1); T. Taylor, *Evolution of the Diocesan Bishopric from the Monastery Bishoprics of Cornwall* (Revue Celtique, XXXV. 3); C. H. Haskins, *The Reception of Arabic Science in England* (English Historical Review, January); J. F. Willard, *Taxes upon Movables of the Reign of Edward III.* (*ibid.*); G. T. Lapsley, *Archbishop Startford and the Parliamentary Crisis of 1341* (*ibid.*); R. S. Rait, *Parliamentary Representation in Scotland* (Scottish Historical Review, January); Champlin Burrage, *The Antecedents of Quakerism* (English Historical Review, January); Caroline A. J. Skeel, *The Council of the Marches in the Seventeenth Century* (*ibid.*); G. Neilson, *Scotstarvet's "Trew Relation"*, V. (Scottish Historical Review, January); E. Sieper, *Der Kulturwert Englands* (Westermanns Monatshefte, September); Albert Cartwright, *The South African Situation* (Edinburgh Review, January).

FRANCE

General review: R. Reuss, *Histoire de la Révolution* (Revue Historique, January).

An important innovation at the Archives Nationales during the last summer was the setting apart of a catalogue room, where a vast number of manuscript catalogues and inventories, hitherto inaccessible, were placed at the disposal of the public. At the same time the director of the Archives has published an *État des Inventaires des Archives Nationales au 1^{er} Janvier, 1914* (pp. xii, 80), a list of over 800 catalogues, inventories, guides, etc., of different sections of the Archives.

M. Charles Bémont has edited the *Recueil d' Actes relatifs à l'Administration des Rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIII^e Siècle* (*Recognitiones Feodorum in Aquitania*) (Paris, Leroux, 1914, pp. lxxv, 481); and A. Longnon, the *Documents relatifs au Comté de Champagne et de Brie, 1172-1361*, t. III., *Les Comptes Administratifs* (*ibid.*, pp. xxix, 678) for the *Collection des Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*. J. Marx has published a critical edition of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William of Jumièges (Paris, Picard, 1914, pp. xliii, 418) for the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin have published *Chroniques des Comtes d' Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise* (*ibid.*, pp. xcv, 316).

Les Foires de Lyon aux XV^e et XVI^e Siècles (Paris, Picard, 1914, pp. viii, 386) by M. Brésard; and *Le Métier de la Soie en France, 1466-1815, suivi d'un Historique de la Toile Imprimée, 1759-1815* (Paris, Devambe, 1914, pp. 182) are useful contributions to the economic history of France. To the study of the labor problem produced by the Industrial Revolution, A. Cu villier has contributed *Un Journal d'Ouvrière, "L'Atelier", 1840-1850* (Paris, Alcan, 1914, pp. 306).

C. Valois has edited for the Société d'Histoire de France an unpublished anonymous contemporary *Histoire de la Ligue* (Paris, Renouard, 1914, pp. xlv, 304) of which the first volume relates to the years 1574-1589. P. de Vaissière's volume of *Récits du Temps des Troubles* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1914) deals with the family of Alègre in the sixteenth century. There is a monograph by E. Pasquier on *Un Curé de Paris pendant les Guerres de Religion, René Benoist, le Pape des Halles, 1521-1608* (Angers, Grassin, 1913, pp. 404), and one by Broqua on *Claude Bernard, dit le Pauvre Prêtre, 1588-1611* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1914, pp. xvi, 272).

L. Loviot has edited a textual reprint of the forerunner of Renaudot's famous journal, *La Gazette de 1609* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1914). Two volumes of the *Lettres de la Main de Louis XIII.* (Paris, Rahir, 1914) have been edited by E. Griselle. A volume on *Saint François Régis, Apôtre du Vivarais et du Velay, 1597-1640* (Paris, Gabalda, 1914) is contributed to the series, *Les Saints*, by J. Vianey. A volume of

Mémoires sur le Règne de Louis XIII. (Paris, Plon, 1914, pp. ix, 360) by M. de Chizay is another recent publication on the history of that reign.

The interesting military adventurer and writer, *Le Chevalier de Foulard, 1669-1752* (Paris, Hachette, 1914) is the subject of a biographical sketch by C. de Coynart. The better known but no more important military adventurer, *Der Baron von Besenval, 1721-1791* (Zürich, Leemann and Company, 1914) is the subject of a biography by O. Schmid. P. Fould has used new documents for *Un Diplomate au Dix-Huitième Siècle, Louis-Augustin Blondel* (Paris, Plon, 1914).

Abbé E. Audard's valuable article on *L'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française aux Archives Vaticanes* (Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1914, pp. 38) has been reprinted from the *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*.

Selma Stern has written a life of *Anacharsis Cloots, der Redner des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin, Ebering, 1914).

Pour l'Empereur (Paris, Ollendorff, 1914, pp. xviii, 402), by Frédéric Masson, is a collection of historical articles which he has published in the *Gaulois*, the *Écho de Paris*, and other papers during the past five years. Among the number is one on the Americans in the Mediterranean from 1786 to 1815, showing the relations with the Barbary States; another deals with the introduction of the beet-sugar industry in France. While all of the papers relate to the Napoleonic period, most of them have to do with the years 1812-1814.

Kegan Paul and Company are the publishers of Captain A. F. Becke's *Napoleon and Waterloo*, two volumes of substantial merit.

Captain F. W. O. Maycock has added to the *Special Campaign* series an excellent volume on *Invasion of France, 1814*, which is published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin.

A half-dozen phases of the Restoration period are revealed in the following books: Gaschet, *Paul Louis Courier et la Restauration* (Paris, Hachette, 1914); Viscount A. de Courson, *Souvenirs d'un Officier de Gendarmerie sous la Restauration* (Paris, Plon, 1914, pp. xi, 317); Captain L. Blaison, *Une Ville de Garnison sous la Restauration, le Complot de Belfort, 1822* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1914, pp. 116); J. L. Borgerhoff, of Western Reserve University, *Le Théâtre Anglais à Paris sous la Restauration* (Paris, Hachette, 1913, pp. xi, 249); P. de Joinville, *Le Réveil Économique de Bordeaux sous la Restauration; l'Armateur Balguerie-Stuttenberg et son Oeuvre* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. xxiii, 485); and E. Jacquemont, *François Jacquemont, Curé de Saint-Médard-en-Forez, 1757-1835* (Lyons, Lardanchet, 1914, pp. xv, 496).

John C. Tarver and E. Sparvel-Bayly are the translators of Gabriel Hanotaux's *Contemporary France*, published by Messrs. Putnam, in four volumes.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Funck-Brentano, *Les Villes en France au Début de l'Époque Féodale* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November); Irene M. Rope, *The Letters of Jeanne d'Arc* (Dublin Review, January); J. Nouaillac, *La Retraite de Pomponne de Bellièvre, September 1588-Mai 1593* (Revue Historique, November); L. Batiffol, *Un Duel à la Place Royale [Montmorency-Bouteville]* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 9); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Les Journées de Barfleur et de la Hougue, 29 Mai-3 Juin 1692* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November); L. Cahen, *La Répartition des Métiers à Paris au Milieu du XVIII^e Siècle* (*ibid.*); J. Larribau, *Lettres de Jean Dulimbert, Officier de Chasseurs, 1804-1815* (Revue de Paris, November 15, December 1, 15); Florence Kinloch-Cooke, *Letters from Paris and Soissons a Hundred Years Ago*, II. (Nineteenth Century, January); V. Masuyer, *La Reine Hortense et le Prince Louis*, I.-IV. (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1, 15, October 1, November 15); H. Plehn, *Die Methoden der Französischen Politik bei der Erwerbung Tunesiens* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VII. 1); A. London, *Die Selbstverwaltung in Frankreich* (*ibid.*).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

G. Manacorda has issued two volumes, on the Middle Ages, of a *Storia della Scuola in Italia* (Palermo, Sandron, 1914, pp. xii, 280, 430).

The fourteenth century is covered in the second volume of R. Gaggese, *Firenze dalla Decadenza di Roma al Risorgimento d'Italia* (Florence, Seeber, 1913, pp. 521). The chronicle of the fourteenth-century Florentine, Donato Velluti, has been edited from the original manuscripts by I. del Lungo and G. Volpi, with the title, *La Cronica Domestica scritta fra il 1367 a il 1370, con le Addizioni di Paolo Velluti scritte fra il 1555 a il 1560* (Florence, Sansoni, pp. xlvii, 358).

Napoleonic Italy is studied in A. Pingaud, *Notices et Documents sur l'Histoire de la République Italienne, 1802-1805* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 236). Caso, *La Carboneria di Capitanata dal 1816 al 1820* (Naples, Pierro, 1914) relates to the restoration period. On the revolutionary movement of 1848 the more recent publications include G. Capasso, *Dandolo, Morosini, Manara e il Primo Battaglione dei Bersaglieri Lombardi nel 1848-1849* (Milan, Cogliati, 1914, pp. 295); M. degli Alberti, *Alcuni Episodi della Guerra nel Veneto, ossia Diario del Generale Alberto della Marmora dal 26 Marzo al 20 Ottobre 1848* (Rome, 1914, pp. xii, 343); and I. Ghisalberti, *Le Condizioni Generali del Napoletano e gli Avvenimenti del 1848 in Terra d'Otranto, ricostruiti sui Processi Politici* (Martina Franca, Aquaro e Dragonetti, 1914, pp. x, 124).

A royal commission has been appointed to publish the writings of Cavour, which it is estimated will fill twenty-five volumes in addition to his parliamentary speeches, which will appear in a separate series. The

commission plans to publish first the correspondence for the years 1856 to 1860, of which they have already compiled much that has not previously appeared in print.

Felice Orsini (Milan, Cogliati, 1914) by A. Luzio; and *Crispi* (Florence, Barbèra, 1914, pp. xliii, 294) by G. Castellini are among the recent biographies of personages of the Risorgimento.

The latest addition to the list of Italian provincial historical periodicals is the quarterly *Archivio Pugliese del Risorgimento Italiano*, edited by Dr. G. Maselli-Campagna and published at Bari.

The following titles are worth adding to the list of volumes on the Italo-Turkish War: "Un Témoin", *Histoire de la Guerre Italo-Turque* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913, pp. vii, 135); G. B. Casoni, *La Guerra Italo-Turca* (Florence, Bemporad, 1914, pp. xi, 275); and B. Melli, *La Guerra Italo-Turca* (Rome, Voghera, 1914, pp. viii, 262).

From the beginning of 1915 the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, by which one may follow the activities of the Archives of the Indies, of the institute of historical research organized from among its personnel, and of foreign scholars working in Seville, becomes a monthly journal. During the past winter the investigators from the United States working there have been Mr. W. L. Schurz, fellow of the University of California, Mrs. Fanny R. Bandelier, and Miss Irene A. Wright, working respectively in the history of California, of the Pueblo Indians, and of Cuba.

The publication of the proceedings of the *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña* by the Royal Academy of History has reached the twentieth volume, which contains the proceedings of the Cortes of Catalonia from 1436 to 1440 (Madrid, 1914).

An historical and critical study of the question of *La Unión Ibérica* (Madrid, Velasco, 1914, pp. 366) is by J. del Nido y Segalerva. *Les Étapes de la Royauté d'Alphonse XIII.* (Paris, Perrin, 1914, pp. 301), by R. Meynadier, presents a gloomy picture of Spanish conditions.

The rise and decline of the House of Braganza is the subject of a recent work by Francis Gribble entitled *The Royal House of Portugal* (London, Eveleigh Nash).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *Il Comune di Velletri nel Medio Evo*, II.-III. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVII. 1, 3); F. Ermini, *La Scuola in Italia nel Medio Evo* (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie, January); Robert Davidsohn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Manfreds* (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven, XVII. 1); R. de Cesare, *Emilio Visconti Venosta, Storia e Ricordi* (Nuova Antologia, January 1); M. Hume, *Las Reinas de la España Antigua, Isabel de Borbón*,

Mariana de Austria (La España Moderna, November, December); C. Cambroner, *La Reina Gobernadora, Crónicas Políticas de 1833 à 1840* [conclusion] (*ibid.*, December).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: K. Hampe, *Neuere Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte in der Zeit der Ottonen und Salier* (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, November 28, December 5).

E. Rosenstock, *Könighaus und Stämme in Deutschland zwischen 911 und 1250* (Leipzig, Meiner, 1914); Buchner, *Die Deutschen Königswahlen und das Herzogtum Bayern vom Beginn des 10. bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, Marcus, 1914); and K. G. Hugelmann, *Die Wahl Konrads IV. zu Wien im Jahre 1237* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1914) are recent contributions to the history of the Holy Roman emperors and their election.

The history of the German ecclesiastical states has received the following contributions: Feierabend, *Die Politische Stellung der Deutschen Reichsabteien während des Investiturstreites* (Breslau, Marcus, 1914); Dauch, *Die Bischofsstadt als Residenz der Geistlichen Fürsten* (Berlin, Ebering, 1914); and K. Hofmann, *Die Engere Immunität in Deutschen Bischofsstädten im Mittelalter* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914, pp. xii, 154), a publication of the Görres-Gesellschaft.

Weinhandel und Wirtsgewerbe im Mittelalterlichen Strassburg (Strassburg, Heitz, 1914, pp. viii, 102) by E. Bender; and A. Jürgens, *Zur Schleswig-Holsteinischen Handelsgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Curtius, 1914, pp. xviii, 315) in the *Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte* are useful recent contributions to German economic history.

A chapter of German military history of the latter half of the fifteenth century is told by M. Nef in *Die Landsknechte, Entstehung der ersten Deutschen Infanterie* (Berlin, Ebering, 1914), which is published as number 123 of the *Historische Studien*.

Germany and the Empire, 1493-1792, by A. F. Pollard, is in preparation at the Cambridge University Press.

The ecclesiastical side of the German enlightenment in the eighteenth century has been studied in R. Lote, *Du Christianisme au Germanisme: l'Évolution Religieuse au XVIII^e Siècle et la Déviation de l'Idéal Moderne en Allemagne* (Paris, 1914); and in J. Rössler, *Die Kirchliche Aufklärung unter dem Speierer Fürstbischof August von Limburg-Stürm, 1770-1797* (Speier, Gilardone, 1914, pp. 160).

Prussian history in the Napoleonic period has been enriched by the following volumes: Pflugk-Harttung, *Der Stadt- und Polizeipräsident von Tilly und die Zustände in Warschau zur Preussischen Zeit, 1799-*

1806 (Danzig, Kafemann, 1914); Lionnet, *Die Erhebungspläne Preussischer Patrioten, Ende 1806 und Frühjahr 1807* (Berlin, Ebering, 1914); R. Lobetal, *Verwaltung und Finanzpolitik in Preussen während der Jahre 1808-1810* (Berlin, 1914); W. Erman, *Jean Pierre Erman, 1735-1814: ein Lebensbild aus der Berliner Französischen Kolonie* (Berlin, Mittler, 1914); and H. Klaje, *Pommern im Jahre 1813* (Colberg, Dietz and Maxerath, 1914).

The first volume of a new *Geschichte der Befreiungskriege, 1813 und 1814* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1914) by Heinrich Ulmann is among the new publications.

Several phases of the constitutional development of Prussia in the nineteenth century have been studied in Stephan, *Die Entstehung der Provinzialstände in Preussen, 1823* (Berlin, Louys, 1914); E. Jordan, *Die Entstehung der Konservativen Partei und die Preussischen Agrarverhältnisse von 1848* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914); F. Löwenthal, *Der Preussische Verfassungsstreit, 1862-1866* (*ibid.*, pp. xi, 342); and Professor E. Loening, *Gerichte und Verwaltungsbehörden in Brandenburg-Preussen: ein Beitrag zur Preussischen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1914, pp. xiii, 326).

H. Kohl has edited the *Briefe Ottos von Bismarck an Schwester und Schwager, Malvine von Arnim, geb. v. Bismarck, und Oskar von Arnim-Kröhlendorff, 1843-1897* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1914). A life of *Fürst Bismarcks Frau* (Berlin, Trowitzsch, 1914, pp. viii, 251) is by Sophie Charlotte von Sell. R. Pahncke has prepared a critical study of *Die Parallelerzählungen Bismarcks zu seinen Gedanken und Erinnerungen* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1914). The studies of *Die Eisenbahnpolitik des Fürsten Bismarck* (Berlin, Springer, 1914) by Dr. A. von der Leyen, and of *Bismarck und das Kriegsvölkerrecht* (Leipzig, Gräfe, 1914) by W. D. Geisberg have a timely interest. Paul Matter has revised his three volumes on *Bismarck et son Temps* (Paris, Alcan, 1914).

Mr. H. W. C. Davis of Balliol College, in a book on *The Political Thought of Heinrich von Treitschke* (imported by Scribner), gives an account of the early life of that historian and his relations with Bismarck, and an exposition of his political philosophy.

In the series *Württembergische Geschichtsquellen* issued by the Württemberg Historical Commission there have recently appeared the second volume of A. Hauber, *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Heiligkreuztal*; the first volume of H. Günter, *Gerwig Blarer, Abt von Weingarten, 1520-1567, Briefe und Akten*; and the first volume, dealing with Leutkirch and Isny, of K. O. Müller, *Oberschwäbische Stadtrechte* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1913, 1914). The latest issue in the series of *Darstellungen aus der Württembergischen Geschichte*, published under the same auspices, is C. Albrecht, *Die Triaspolitik des Freiherrn K. Aug. von Wangenheim*.

Dr. Henryk Grossman, in *Oesterreichs Handelspolitik mit Bezug auf Galizien in der Reformperiode, 1772-1790* (Vienna, Konegen, 1914, pp. xvii, 510) studies with an open mind, after careful researches, the economic reforms instituted by Joseph II. after the acquisition of Austrian Poland.

J. Slokar has published a history of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in Austria under the title *Geschichte der Oesterreichischen Industrie und ihrer Förderung unter Kaiser Franz I.* (Vienna, Tempsky, 1914).

The third volume of Widmann's *Geschichte Salzburgs* (Gotha, Perthes, 1914) carries the narrative from 1519 to 1805.

Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge is the author of *Switzerland since 1499*, soon to be issued by the Cambridge University Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Stäbler, *Zum Streit um die Aeltere Deutsche Markgenossenschaft* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXIX. 3); J. Haller, *Kaiser Heinrich VI.* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIII. 3); M. Rade, *Der Sprung in Luthers Kirchenbegriff und die Entstehung der Landeskirche* (Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, XXIV. 5); Robert West, *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg und die Kunst* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); K. Kormann, *Die Landeshoheit in ihrem Verhältnis zur Reichsgewalt im Alten Deutschen Reich seit dem Westfälischen Frieden* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VII. 1); K. T. Heigel, *Benjamin Thompson, Graf von Rumford* (Westermanns Monatshefte, December); G. Ritter, *Die Entstehung der Indemnitätsvorlage von 1866* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIV. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The latest published report from the Dutch Archives (but a report prepared before the outbreak of the war) indicated that the Historical Commission then expected to issue in 1915 the seventh part of Dr. Colenbrander's *Gedenkstukken*, embracing diplomatic and political papers of the important period from the recognition of William I. as Sovereign Prince to his recognition as King of the Netherlands, November, 1813-September, 1815; of the fifth part, extending from 1673-1676, of the *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland*; and of the first volume, the volume for 1576, ed. Japikse, of the *Resolutien der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*.

The Netherlands since 1477 is the title of a volume by Rev. George Edmundson, soon to be issued by the Cambridge University Press.

The Linschotenvereeniging has published as its eighth volume the voyages of Jan Huygen van Linschoten to the northward in 1594-1595, edited by S. P. L'Honoré Naber.

G. M. Reyntjes is the author of a thesis on *Groningen en Omme-landen van 1580 tot 1594* (Groningen, Werkman, 1914, pp. xxv, 204, iv).

In commemoration of its three hundredth anniversary, the University of Groningen has published *Academia Groningana, MDCXIV.-MCMXIV.* (Groningen, Noordhoff, 1914, pp. 604).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

H. Franzén presented as his thesis at Upsala, *Representationsfrågan, 1810-1830, ett Bidrag till Representationsreformens Historia* (Norrköping, 1914, pp. xvi, 196), which relates chiefly to the problem in Sweden.

In addition to the annual volume of *Transactions* reviewed on another page, the Royal Historical Society has issued a chronicle of Russia in the Middle Ages, a translation of the *Novgorod Chronicle* (1016-1472), by Robert Mitchell and Nevill Forbes, with an introduction by Professors C. R. Beazley and A. A. Shakhmatov.

A presentation volume in honor of Professor Dmitry Korsakov of the University of Kazan (Kazan, 1913) contains some excellent essays on Russian history, among which is one by D. Zapolski on the economic and social conditions in 1812, indicating the probability that Napoleon might have appealed successfully for a rising of the serfs. Later conditions are the subject of volumes by P. Marc, *Au Seuil du 17 Octobre 1905, Historique du Mouvement des Esprits en Russie de 1899 au 17 Octobre 1905* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1914, pp. 146); and by W. O. Preyer on *Die Russische Agrarreform* (Jena, Fischer, 1914, pp. xiv, 415).

An account of the *Origine ed Evoluzione Storica delle Nazioni Balcaniche* (Milan, Hoepli, 1915, pp. 628) is by Angelo Pernice.

A Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien (Gotha, Perthes, 1914) has been published by S. Gopčević. Professor M. J. Bonn has issued *Die Balkanfrage* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914) which contains ten articles mostly by German professors on phases of the present situation in the Balkan peninsula. Another recent volume is Rohde, *Die Ereignisse zur See und das Zusammenwirken von Heer und Flotte im Balkankrieg* (Berlin, Eisenschmidt, 1914).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. E. Lingelbach, *Geography in Russian History* (Popular Science Monthly, January).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

E. J. Rapson is the author of *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the First Century A. D.* (Cambridge University Press), a concise summary of information.

W. Reese has collected in a small volume *Die Griechischen Nachrichten über Indien bis zum Feldzuge Alexanders des Grossen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914).

British India, 1603-1858, by Sir G. W. Forrest, director of records under the Indian government, is soon to be issued by the Cambridge University Press.

A History of the Indian Medical Service, 1600-1913, by Lieut.-Col. D. G. Crawford (Calcutta, Thacker, 2 vols.), presents an impressive array of facts, some of which have already appeared in the *Indian Medical Gazette*.

While administering the French establishments in India in 1911, A. Martineau founded the Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française, which has issued the following publications: *Procès-Verbaux des Délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Compagnie des Indes de 1701 à 1735* (Pondicherry, 1913-1914, 2 vols.); *Lettres et Conventions des Gouverneurs de Pondichéry avec Différents Princes Hindous, 1666 à 1793* (*ibid.*, 1914); and *Inventaire des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Française* (*ibid.*, pp. 38), which unfortunately deals only with the political and administrative documents.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Pérez, *Historia de las Misiones de los Franciscanos en las Islas Malucas y Célebes*, III., IV., V. [conclusion] (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, April, July, October); Miss M. E. Monckton Jones, *Free and Open Trade in Bengal* (*English Historical Review*, January).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The *Report* of the Librarian of Congress for the year ending June 30, 1914, is of interest to historical students particularly for its account of the historical manuscripts acquired by the Library during the year. Principal among these are: the papers of Edmund Roberts (1784-1836), of value for the Far Eastern relations of the United States; the papers of Alexander Dallas Bache, superintendent of the coast survey from 1843 to 1867; the papers of Major-General C. B. Comstock, senior aide-de-camp to General Grant, 1864-1865; a transcript of the shorthand notes of Col. G. W. Moore, private secretary to President Johnson (1866-1868); letters (1835-1847) of John Fairfield, governor of Maine, representative in Congress and senator, illuminating social life in Washington; the papers of Thomas Ewing, United States senator, Secretary of the Treasury and of the Interior; papers of the Mercy-Argenteau family of Belgium (1460-1880), aggregating about ten thousand documents; the N. P. Trist papers; several volumes of journals and miscellaneous papers of Luis Berlandier, the scientific explorer; some two hundred letters of Francis Lieber; and additions to the Welles, Biddle, and other papers. The library has also made considerable additions to its collection of eighteenth-century newspapers.

The Library of Congress has issued vol. III. of the *List of Geographical Atlases* in the library, with bibliographical notes, compiled under the direction of P. Lee Phillips. The Division of Manuscripts has nearly ready for publication a handbook giving an account of all its collections.

Houghton Mifflin Company are bringing out a four-volume *History of the United States*, comprising *Beginnings of American Life*, by Carl Becker (vol. I.), *Union and Democracy*, by Allen Johnson (vol. II.), *Expansion and Conflict*, by W. E. Dodd (vol. III.), and *The New Nation*, by F. L. Paxson (vol. IV.).

Miss Eva Alice Cole of Columbia University Library contributes to the January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* a useful Check List of Biographical Directories and General Catalogues of American Colleges.

The July issue of the *Magazine of History* contains an article, the Unifying of the Thirteen States, by Charles N. Holmes, some letters of Washington, John Adams, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and General Sherman, and continuations of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw's letters (1861) and of the War Time Recollections of Captain Asa N. Hays (further continued in the October–November number). The August–September number includes a paper, the Volunteer Navy of the Revolution, by Rear-Admiral C. M. Chester, the concluding installment of R. S. Guernsey's paper, Religious Liberty in Colonial New York, an article by J. E. Oster on Diplomatic and Treaty Relations between the United States and Mexico, and a continuation of Colonel LeGrand B. Cannon's Personal Reminiscences of the Rebellion. Mr. Holmes also writes for the October–November number on the Presidential Election of 1800.

True Stories of Great Americans is the general title of a new series of biographies announced by Macmillan. The purpose of the series is "to tell simply and attractively the life stories of Americans who have achieved greatness in different fields of endeavor". The volumes promised for early issue are: *Robert E. Lee*, by Bradley Gilman; *Captain John Smith*, by Rossiter Johnson; *Benjamin Franklin*, by E. Lawrence Dudley; and *Robert Fulton*, by Alice C. Sutcliffe.

A History of Travel in America, by Seymour Dunbar, in four volumes with elaborate illustrations, has just issued from the press of the Bobbs-Merrill Company.

American Chambers of Commerce (pp. xiii, 278), by Kenneth Sturges, is no. 4 of the Williams College David A. Wells Prize Essays. After pointing out the origins of chambers of commerce and boards of trade in the medieval fairs and merchant guilds, the beginnings and development of such organizations in the United States are traced. Something more than one-fourth of the book is occupied with this historical investigation. The oldest commercial organization in this country, that of

the New York Chamber of Commerce, dates from 1768, and only three others (New Haven, Charleston, and Philadelphia) existed in 1801. The development of these commercial organizations during the nineteenth century, under whatever name and form, is traced in a rapid sketch, followed by a fuller account of the federation movement of recent years, culminating in the formation, in 1912, of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. The author sets forth somewhat elaborately the structural principles of chambers of commerce and describes their activities and achievements.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has gathered a number of his recent addresses and papers into a volume to which is given the title *The Democracy of the Constitution; and other Addresses and Essays*. The volume includes the Constitution and its Makers, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the Public Opinion Bill, the Compulsory Initiative and Referendum and the Recall of Judges, and essays on Lincoln, Calhoun, and Thomas B. Reed, etc.

The Doctrine of Judicial Review: its Legal and Historical Basis and other Essays, by Professor Edward S. Corwin, includes "Marbury v. Madison and the Doctrine of Judicial Review", "We, the People", "The Pelatiah Webster Myth", and "The Dred Scott Decision".

The Yale University Press will publish *Undercurrents in American Politics*, by President Arthur T. Hadley.

The latest issue in the series of *Harvard Economic Studies* is *The Anthracite Coal Combination in the United States*, by Dr. Eliot Jones of Iowa State University, which contains also some account of the early development of the anthracite industry.

Compiled Statutes of the United States, embracing the Statutes of the United States of a General and Permanent Nature in Force December 31, 1913, in five volumes, compiled by John A. Mallory, has been brought out in St. Paul by the West Publishing Company.

The increasing use of pageantry in presenting the history of this country is attractively set forth by means of text and of numerous illustrations in Ralph Davol's *A Handbook of American Pageantry*, published by the Davol Publishing Company, Taunton, Mass.

A good deal of useful information respecting negro history is to be found in the historical sections of the *Negro Year Book*, edited by Monroe N. Work and published at Tuskegee, Alabama.

Mr. Preston A. Barba of Indiana University contributes to the November-December issue of the *German American Annals* an interesting paper respecting Emigration to America reflected in German Fiction.

Dr. John Finley's *The French in the Heart of America*, based on a series of articles in *Scribner's Magazine*, has just been brought out as a book by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Huguenot, Bartholomew Dupuy, and his Descendants, by B. H. Dupuy, is published by the author (Leesburg, Florida).

With the December number, which completes its twentieth volume, the *Catholic University Bulletin* "brings to a close its career as a university publication of miscellaneous content", and becomes simply a bulletin of university news. It is proposed to establish a new magazine devoted to the study of American Catholic ecclesiastical history, to be called the *Catholic Historical Review* and to be issued quarterly. It is expected that the first number of this quarterly may be issued this month.

The principal content of the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* is the continuation of the late Martin I. J. Griffin's *Life of Bishop Conwell*. There is a brief paper, by Rev. Felix Fellner, O.S.B., concerning the Rev. Theodore Brouwers, O.F.M., missionary in the West Indies and pioneer priest in Western Pennsylvania, and also a translation, from a broadside in the Library of Congress, of an "Extrait des Registres des Audiences du Conseil Supérieur de la Province de la Louisiane", May 7, 1765.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-third annual meeting on February 21 and 22. Among the papers read we note the following: on the medieval status of the Jew, by Dr. Joseph Jacobs; on the economic condition of the Jews of Spain, by Rev. Dr. Abraham Neuman; on a letter of David Nassy of Surinam, by Samuel Oppenheim; on Daniel Gomez, pioneer merchant in early New York, by Leon Hühner; on the naturalization of English Jews by the act of 1753, by Dr. Albert C. Dudley; on references of Jewish interest in the newspapers of the Revolution, 1761-1789, by Dr. Harold Korn; on the history of the Hebrew periodical press in America, by Joshua Bloch.

The *Publications*, no. 22, of the American Jewish Historical Society (pp. 286) includes records of the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second annual meetings (1912, 1913, and 1914). The more important historical papers in the volume are: an account of Judah Monis, by L. M. Friedman; David Nassy of Surinam and his "Lettre Politico-Théologico-Morale sur les Juifs", by Sigmund Seeligmann; Some Phases of the Condition of the Jews in Spain in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, by Rabbi A. A. Neuman; the correspondence of the Jews with President Martin Van Buren, contributed, from the Van Buren Papers in the Library of Congress, by A. M. Friedenberg; America in Hebrew Literature, by Rev. Mendel Silber; Jews in the Legal and Medical Professions in America prior to 1800, by Leon Hühner; and some Notes on American Jewish History, by Rev. D. de Sola Pool.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America has in preparation a volume of hitherto unpublished narratives of travel in the

colonies in the eighteenth century, which will be edited by Dr. Newton D. Mereness. The contents embrace narratives by colonial, English, French, and German travellers and extend over a wide range of the colonial area, settled and unsettled.

The Presidents of the United States, 1789-1914, in four volumes, edited by the late Gen. James Grant Wilson, has come from the press (Scribner).

The Political Science of John Adams: a Study in the Theory of Mixed Government and the Bicameral System, by C. M. Walsh, has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

One Aspect of the Century of Peace (Napanee, Ontario, the Beaver Office) is an address delivered in February of this year by Clarence M. Warner, president of the Ontario Historical Society, before the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute, St. Thomas, Ontario. The principal purpose of the paper is to show why the English-speaking people did not celebrate the twenty-fifth, fiftieth, or seventy-fifth anniversary of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

The centenary of the battle of New Orleans and the completion of one hundred years of peace between Great Britain and the United States were commemorated with suitable ceremonies in the city of New Orleans and on the battlefield on January 8, 9, and 10 under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington is about to issue in three parts an *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*, that is, from the conclusion of the Foreign Relations section of the folio *American State Papers* to the beginning of the State Department's annual series. The compilation is edited by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse of the New York Public Library.

The Senate, October 21, adopted a resolution to reprint as a Senate document the pamphlet account of Col. Doniphan's Conquest of New Mexico in 1846-1847, by John T. Hughes, a member of the First Missouri Cavalry, Doniphan's command. The reprint is 63 Cong., 2 sess., *Senate Document No. 608*.

The Story of Wendell Phillips, Soldier of the Common Good, by Charles Edward Russell, makes the career of Wendell Phillips particularly significant for its opposition to social privilege.

Lee's Confidential Despatches to Davis, 1862-1865, edited by Douglas S. Freeman, will be published shortly by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Journal of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, 39 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., which was not printed until 1884, and of which few copies appear to be in existence (see the REVIEW, XVI. 209), has been reprinted (63 Cong., 3 sess., *Senate Doc. No. 711*, pp. 53).

For the medical history of the Civil War the *Personal Memoirs of John H. Brinton, Major and Surgeon, U. S. V., 1861-1865* (Neale) is a work of value. An introduction to the book is from the pen of the late Dr. S. Weir Mitchell.

A History of the Civil War in the United States, by Vernon Blythe, is published by Neale.

In her book *Abraham Lincoln* Miss Rose Strunsky aims to present Lincoln, not as "The Great Liberator", by as "the apostle of true democracy", the embodiment of "the gaunt, crude, virile America of the free lands", "part and parcel of his class, the small homesteader who claimed an equal opportunity in the virgin forests", the epitome of the dominant forces in a stage of the country's history from which the great present grew (Macmillan).

Houghton Mifflin Company have brought out *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, in two volumes, by C. R. Williams.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Town of St. Johnsbury, Vermont: a Review of One Hundred and Twenty-five Years to the Anniversary Pageant, 1912, by E. T. Fairbanks, is published in St. Johnsbury by the Cowles Press.

In the November serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* the principal paper is by Mr. Lincoln N. Kinnicutt on the Plymouth Settlement and Tisquantum. A paper by Mr. Charles Francis Adams draws an interesting comparison between the campaign in progress in France and Belgium and that in Virginia in 1864. The paper is discussed by Col. Thomas L. Livermore and Col. W. R. Livermore. There is a letter of Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Rawdon, June 25, 1775, one from General Burgoyne to Lord North, October 10, 1775, and one from Edmund Burke to an unidentified correspondent, December 1, 1793.

The *Twenty-Seventh Report* (1914) of the Massachusetts commissioner of public records notes the publication of a volume of *Old Records of the Town of Fitchburg, Massachusetts*, and of an *Index to the Probate Records of the County of Middlesex, Massachusetts*, first series, 1648-1871. The second series (1870-1910) was published in 1912. Vital records to 1850 of the following towns have been printed: Abington (vols. I. and II.), Brockton, Dunstable, Kingston, Reading, Tewksbury, Wakefield, and West Bridgewater.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for January includes an initial paper, by G. A. Moriarty, jr., entitled "The Governor of New Providence, West Indies, in 1702: the Administration of Governor Elias Hasket of Salem in the Massachusetts Bay".

Soldiers of Oakham, Massachusetts, in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Civil War, by Henry P. Wright (New Haven, the

Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Company, pp. x, 325), is a military record of some interest, in that it shows how our three principal wars have affected one small community. The book includes biographical sketches of more than 300 soldiers, besides a good deal of genealogical material. Out of a community, having a population in 1776 of 598, an even 200 are set down as having in one way or another served in the Revolutionary War. The Civil War soldiers whose records are given in the volume number 97 (the population in 1860 was 959), although 34 of these are connected with Oakham on other grounds than enlistment. In the War of 1812 Oakham does not loom so large. Not until Massachusetts was threatened with invasion were there any enlistments from the town, and then fourteen men served for a bare six weeks.

The January number of *Americana* contains a first installment of an extended study, "Rhode Island Settlers on the French Lands in Nova Scotia in 1760 and 1761", by A. W. H. Eaton.

In an attractive book of ninety-seven pages, *The John Carter Brown Library, a History*, Mr. George P. Winship, librarian of the collection since 1895, describes in a most interesting manner the development of the collection in the hands of John Carter Brown, of his widow, and of his son John Nicholas Brown, the building in which it has been housed since it was bestowed upon Brown University, and the work of recent years in increasing and perfecting it, and making it useful to the public and to scholars.

Dr. Samuel Hart, dean of the Berkeley Divinity School in Connecticut, has issued a little pamphlet containing two articles reprinted from the *Connecticut Churchman* of October and December, 1914, on *The Episcopal Bank and the Bishop's Fund* (pp. 16), which recount some unique facts of Connecticut history, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and of Hartford banking.

Connecticut Vital Records: Woodstock, 1686-1854, a companion work to the *Bolton-Vernon Vital Records*, and the *Norwich Vital Records*, has appeared (Hartford, the Case, Lockwood, and Brainard Company).

The New York State Historical Association has about ready for the press the volume of its *Proceedings* for the year 1913.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have issued *A History of Old Kinderhook*, by E. A. Collier.

The Oldest Lutheran Church in America, 1664-1914 (pp. 48), by Karl Kretzmann, is a brief history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Matthew in the city of New York, extracted from a much larger work which has for some time been in preparation (the History Committee, 419 West 145th Street, New York). There are numerous illustrations.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received from Miss Letitia A. Humphreys a substantial addition to the General A. A.

Humphreys collection, including 249 war maps and 177 letters. Another acquisition is Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, extra illustrated and enlarged to 32 volumes by Mr. David McN. Stauffer, presented by Mrs. Stauffer. Among the miscellaneous accessions are letters of Lafayette, John Hancock, Henry Clay, Aaron Burr, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Robert Peel, Chief Justice Marshall, and others.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the January number the journal of John Watson, assistant surveyor to the commissioners of the Province of Pennsylvania, December 13, 1750, to March 18, 1751, with an introduction by John W. Jordan. To the same number Mr. Louis Richards contributes an article on Jacob Rush of the Pennsylvania judiciary (1747-1820).

The Maryland Historical Society has received typewritten copies of forty letters of Thomas Tudor Tucker, member of the Continental Congress from South Carolina 1787-1788, representative 1789-1793, and treasurer of the United States 1801-1828. The letters are of the period 1791-1808.

The contents of the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* include a sketch of Richard Bennet, governor of Virginia, 1651-1655, by Mary N. Browne, some Notes on Maryland Parishes, by Rev. Ethan Allen, continuations of the letters of Rev. Jonathan Boucher and of the vestry proceedings of St. Ann's Parish, and the concluding installment of the French and Indian War Roster.

As a tribute to Professor William A. Dunning on the occasion of his being elected to the presidency of the American Historical Association, a number of his former students have gathered into a volume a group of their essays, to which they have given the collective title *Studies in Southern History and Politics*, and have inscribed the volume to Professor Dunning. The editor of the volume is Professor James W. Garner, whose contribution (the last in the volume) is on Southern Politics since the Civil War. Other contributors are: W. L. Fleming, Deportation and Colonization; U. B. Phillips, Literary Movement for Secession; C. W. Ramsdell, the Frontier and Secession; M. L. Bonham, jr., French Consuls in the Confederate States; S. D. Brummer, the Judicial Interpretation of the Confederate Constitution; J. G. deR. Hamilton, Southern Legislation in respect to Freedmen; C. Mildred Thompson, Carpet-Baggers in the United States Senate; E. C. Woolley, Grant's Southern Policy; W. W. Davis, the Federal Enforcement Acts; W. Roy Smith, Negro Suffrage in the South; W. K. Boyd, Some Phases of Educational History in the South since 1865; Holland Thompson, the New South, Economic and Social; C. E. Merriam, the Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun; and D. Y. Thomas, Southern Political Theories.

The *Eleventh Annual Report* of the Library Board and Librarian of the Virginia State Library lists as the chief accession of the past year a

body of 117 manuscripts recovered from the heirs of the late Benson J. Lossing. Among them is a valuable series of letters of Lafayette to Governors Jefferson and Nelson, and some Washington and Rochambeau material. The Library has just issued a new volume of the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, extending from 1656 to 1694; the last volume will contain material of the preceding period.

The January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* includes among its varied contents the Minutes of the Council and General Court, 1622-1629; some minutes of a committee of trade and plantations and other documents of November and December, 1677; the declaration of war against France and Spain, July 4, 1702, a letter of marque to Capt. Thomas Tudor, August 12, 1702, and other council papers of the period; eight letters of Thomas Adams, 1768-1775, throwing light on Virginia trade just before the Revolution; and some county court proceedings in Virginia in 1734.

Among the contents of the January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly* the extracts from the diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1861-1864, touching several aspects of the Civil War, are of general interest.

The *Fifth Biennial Report* of the North Carolina Historical Commission (December 1, 1912, to November 30, 1914) has appeared. Notable among the accessions of manuscripts are the papers of Col. W. H. S. Burgwyn, pertaining to the Civil War; the Archibald D. Murphey papers, now published; the papers of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin; a collection of 73 letters to and from Nathaniel Macon, Weldon N. Edwards, and William Eaton; a collection of colonial papers (207), received from Miss Tillie Bond of Edenton; and a manuscript, "Richard Hugg King and his Times: Reminiscences of Rev. Eli Caruthers", which throws interesting light on social and religious conditions of the early nineteenth century. An important accession of newspapers is a file of bound volumes of the *Fayetteville Observer*, 1825-1864. The commission has in press *Private Schools of North Carolina, 1790-1840: a Documentary History*, edited by Charles L. Coon, and has in preparation the *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, edited by J. G. deR. Hamilton, and the *Papers of Willie P. Mangum*, edited by Stephen B. Weeks. It will also publish Dr. Weeks's *Bibliography of North Carolina*. The commission now has new and excellent modern quarters in the new state administration building.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has brought out *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, in two volumes, edited by William Henry Hoyt. Murphey's career (ca. 1777-1832) is of importance in North Carolina history because of his activities in behalf of internal improvements in the state and of a system of public instruction, and he also planned to write a history of the state. His correspondence and papers accordingly bear largely upon these three topics. Volume I. comprises the correspondence, letters from and to Murphey, arranged in

one chronological order (1801-1832), preceded by W. A. Graham's brief *Memoir*, first published in 1860. The letters are derived from an important body of Murphey papers recently acquired by the editor, from the manuscripts of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, owned by the family, from manuscripts in possession of the University of North Carolina, and from scattered sources. Volume II. is made up chiefly of reprints, including Murphey's public papers, such as committee reports in the North Carolina legislature, his historical and literary papers, and even a number of productions by other pens than Murphey's. Among the latter is General Joseph Graham's *Narrative of the Revolutionary War in North Carolina*. The editor has supplied numerous explanatory notes throughout the volumes. One typographical defect in vol. II. must be mentioned. Except where the title-page of a pamphlet is reproduced there is usually no clear typographical indication of the beginnings and endings of the several documents.

The *Historical Papers*, series X., of the Trinity College Historical Society includes an account of Reconstruction in Cleveland County, North Carolina, by J. R. Davis, an investigation of the Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society (1776-1834), by P. M. Sherrill, a study of Currency and Banking in North Carolina, 1790-1836, by Professor W. K. Boyd, and part II. (1789-1797) of the Journal and Travel of James Meacham, part I. of which appeared in series IX. of the *Historical Papers*.

Vol. XIII., no. 2, of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* comprises a group of letters (1780-1843) of the Harrington family of North Carolina. The progenitor of the family was Henry William Harrington, brigadier-general of North Carolina militia, to whom most of the earlier letters are written. A larger part of the collection is of the period of the War of 1812, including numerous letters to and from the general's son, Henry William Harrington, a midshipman in the United States navy.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine prints in the October issue a series of letters (1715-1754) of the Broughton family of South Carolina annotated by D. E. Huger Smith. Some of the letters bear upon the Yamasee War and the Spanish invasion of Georgia. Judge Henry A. M. Smith gives an account in this issue of the *Magazine* of Landgrave Ketelby's barony.

The Department of Archives and History of Mississippi has recently acquired the original records and correspondence, 1809-1835, of the Bank of Mississippi.

The third number (December) of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains three valuable studies in widely separated fields: Richard Henderson and the Occupation of Kentucky, by Archibald Henderson, Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida, by Clarence

E. Carter, and the South and the Right of Secession in the Early Fifties, by Arthur C. Cole. An excellent survey of Historical Activities in the Old Southwest is given by Professor St. George L. Sioussat. In the documents section is "A Journal of Major-General Anthony Wayne's Campaign Against the Shawnee Indians in Ohio in 1794-1795", kept by Lieutenant William Clark, and now edited by R. C. McGrane. The March number contains a general review of Mr. Schouler's *History of the United States*, by Professor Orin G. Libby, and four other articles: on the Methods and Operations of the Scioto Group of Speculators, by Professor Archer B. Hulbert; on Diplomacy concerning the Santa Fé Road, by Professor William R. Manning; on a Neglected Critic of our Civil War (M. Forcade of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*), by Mr. L. M. Sears; and on Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics, by Professor W. W. Sweet; likewise some important documents on the Fort Dearborn Massacre.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society for January contains an article by A. C. Quisenberry on the Battle of New Orleans, and an account, largely historical, of the Panama Canal, by M. H. Thatcher, late Isthmian Canal commissioner and head of the department of civil administration, Canal Zone.

After a period of quiescence, owing to the illness and death of Col. R. T. Durrett, the Filson Club has renewed its activities and has issued its twenty-seventh publication, entitled *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769-1792*, edited by Dr. James R. Robertson.

A History of De Kalb County, Tennessee (to 1865), by W. T. Hale, the author of a number of monographs in Tennessee history, has been brought out in Nashville by P. Hunter.

A monograph entitled "History of the Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest, 1824-1840", by Dr. Homer J. Webster, of the department of history in the University of Pittsburgh, forms the entire contents (pp. 120) of the January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. The material, drawn almost entirely from newspapers of the period, has been treated with thoroughness and to good purpose.

Not long ago Miami University became the custodian of the library of Ohio Valley material collected by the late Samuel Fulton Covington of Madisonville, Ohio. By the terms of the transfer the collection is to be kept intact, and several important additions have already been made to it. A catalogue of the collection as it now exists has been issued as a university *Bulletin* (October, 1914), *The Samuel F. Covington Library of Ohio Valley History, with a Sketch of Samuel Fulton Covington* (pp. 75). The sketch is by J. E. Bradford, the catalogue by S. J. Brandenburg.

The General Assembly of Indiana in its late session provided for the appointment of a Historical Commission to collect and publish documentary and other material relating to the history of the state.

The three principal papers in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* deal respectively with the educational and religious history, and the economic development of the state. These articles are: the Academies of Indiana, a tentative investigation of the subject, by J. H. Thomas; Early Methodist Circuits in Indiana, by W. W. Sweet; and Indiana's Growth, 1812-1820, by W. F. Mitchell. The March number includes, besides a continuation of Mr. Thomas's paper, the Flow of Colonists to and from Indiana before the Civil War, by W. O. Lynch, and French Settlements in Floyd County, by Alice L. Green.

The principal paper in the April (1914) issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is a study of the Know-Nothing Movement in Illinois, 1854-1856, by John P. Senning. Some of the briefer articles are: a diary of Anna R. Morrison, November, 1840, to March, 1841, chiefly of journeyings in Illinois; an account, by W. W. Sweet, of Bishop Matthew Simpson's oration at the funeral of Abraham Lincoln; some Reminiscences of General U. S. Grant, by General Frederick D. Grant; and a sketch, by Dr. Daniel Berry, of John M. Robinson, United States senator from Illinois, 1832-1843.

The Chicago Historical Society's *Annual Report* for 1914, besides recording with the usual fullness the society's activities during the year, contains a descriptive catalogue of the accessions to the society's library, notable among them being Chicago imprints and Lincolniana. There were also numerous accessions of minor manuscripts. Sketches of deceased members occupy 26 pages of the report.

The *Report* of the trustees of the Newberry Library for the year 1914 records some accessions of interest. Among the manuscripts acquired are a collection by and relating to Eleazar Williams, letters of Cadwallader Colden, James Logan, James Madison, and Henry R. Schoolcraft, and a large body of transcripts from the archives of the Indies at Seville. Many of these relate to the early exploration, conquest, and settlement of New Mexico, including an apparently unknown chronicle, 436 pages in extent, by Baltasar Obregon, entitled "*Crónica, Comentarios ó Relaciones de los Descubrimientos Antiguos y Modernos de Nueva España y del Nuevo México*" (1584). There are also about 1000 pages of transcripts descriptive of encroachments from the colony of Georgia upon Florida territory, 1733-1738.

The Michigan Historical Commission has issued its *Second Annual Report*, which explains succinctly the several tasks which the commission is performing in behalf of Michigan historical interests. Among these tasks are: a Michigan bibliography, including a list of Michigan maps, a volume of Michigan biography, a list of existing files of Michi-

gan newspapers, and a list of memorials and commemorations. All of these are in course of preparation. In addition the commission is co-operating with the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and the University of Michigan in the publication of original documents and historical studies, and with other organizations in procuring transcripts from European archives.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its midwinter meeting at Muskegon February 17 and 18. The varied programme of its sessions included the following addresses: the Significance of Michigan in the History of the Northwest, by William L. Jenks; Holland Emigration to Michigan: its Causes and Results, by Gerrit J. Diekema; Personal Recollections of Carl Schurz as Editor of the *Detroit Post*, by Edward G. Holden; the Story of Grosse Isle, or the Early Days of Trenton, by Rev. J. R. Command; Materials for the Study of Michigan History, by S. H. Ranck; and the Contents of the Burton Library, by Clarence M. Burton.

The Minnesota Historical Society will shortly inaugurate the publication of a quarterly *Bulletin*, in which will be published the papers read at the meetings of the society and similar material, while the *Collections* will be reserved for documentary material, bibliographies, and other comprehensive works. Volume XV. of the society's *Collections*, made up principally of papers read at meetings of the society and of its executive council since 1908, will be issued soon. The address of Professor Clarence W. Alvord on the Relation of the State to Historical Work, read at the January meeting, will be published as the first number of the new *Bulletin*. A comprehensive *History of Minnesota*, in three volumes, prepared for the society by Professor W. W. Folwell, is nearly ready for the press. Considerable progress has been made in the preparation of an inventory of the archives of Minnesota, which the society, through Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, has undertaken in co-operation with the public archives commission of the American Historical Association.

The January number of the *Annals of Iowa* includes a history of the great seals of Iowa, by C. C. Stiles, brief accounts of the Lutherans in Iowa, by several hands, and a continuation of the bibliography of Iowa authors, by Alice Marple.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is an extended article on the Early History of Lead Mining in the Iowa Country, by Jacob Van der Zee.

The Missouri Historical Society Collections, vol. IV., no. 3, includes the Removal of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1865, by Thomas K. Skinker; Founding and Location of William Jewell College, by Dr. L. M. Lawson; History of the "Chanson de l'Année du Coup", by Wilson Primm, edited by W. C. Breckenridge; Instructions of Jacques Toutant Beauregard to his Son concerning a Voyage to the Illinois,

1779, translated by Nettie H. Beauregard; part VIII. of Charles A. Krone's *Recollections of an Old Actor*, etc.

The January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a sketch, by D. K. Greger, of Garland Carr Broadhead, railroad engineer and naturalist, and a bibliography of his numerous writings, which include a number of papers in Missouri history. To the same number Mr. Joseph A. Mudd of Hyattsville, Maryland, contributes a paper on the Cabell Descendants in Missouri, which has biographical as well as genealogical interest.

Missouri the Center State, 1821-1915, in two volumes, by W. B. Stevens, is from the press of S. J. Clarke.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the concluding part of R. G. Cleland's study, *Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California*; the second of Mrs. Adele B. Looscan's papers concerning Harris County, Texas; the second installment of W. Y. Allen's *Reminiscences of Texas*, the reprint of which, edited by W. S. Red, was begun in the number for January, 1914; and a continuation of *British Correspondence concerning Texas*, edited by Professor E. D. Adams.

The *Second Biennial Report* of the Texas Library and Historical Commission contains a calendar of the papers of M. B. Lamar, president of the Republic of Texas, prepared by Miss Elizabeth H. West, archivist of the state library.

Vol. IV. of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of North Dakota will shortly come from the press. It is understood that the volume contains, in addition to an unusual number of sketches designed to illustrate early territorial history, an historical survey of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River trade, together with reprints of numerous documents pertaining to the subject.

"The Nebraska Aborigines as they appeared in the Eighteenth Century", by Father Michael A. Shine, forms the principal contents of vol. IX., no. 1, of the *Nebraska Academy of Science Publications*.

Bank Deposit Guaranty in Nebraska, by Z. Clark Dickinson, forms *Bulletin* no. 6 of the *Nebraska History and Political Science* series.

In the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Mr. T. C. Elliott gives some account of the Fur Trade in the Columbia River Basin prior to 1811, that is, prior to the founding of Astoria. The *Journal of John Work*, with introduction and notes by the same writer, is continued (July 5 to September 15, 1826). The "*New Vancouver Journal*", edited by Professor Edmond S. Meany, is concluded in this number.

The June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* contains the memorial address, delivered by Charles B. Moores at Cham-

poeg, May 2, 1914, commemorating the life, character, and services of Francis Xavier Matthieu, whose vote in the historic meeting of May 2, 1843, is said to have decided the destiny of Oregon. The same number contains a paper, "First Things pertaining to Presbyterianism on the Pacific Coast", by Robert H. Blossom, and the second part of the Journal of David Thompson, edited by T. C. Elliott. The most important item in the September number is the diary of Samuel Royal Thurston, first delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory. Thurston's term of service was from December 3, 1849, to March 4, 1851, and the diary covers a little more than nine months of this period, beginning November 21, 1849, and closing August 29, 1850. The entries are principally records of his activities in behalf of Oregon interests, but shed many side-lights on proceedings in Congress and on the politics of the time. This number of the *Quarterly* contains also an investigation, by Professor Clark E. Persinger of the University of Nebraska, of the "Bargain of 1844" as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso, and a letter of Quincy Adams Brooks, November 7, 1851, describing his journey across the plains.

The Diary of Nelson Kingsley: a California Argonaut of 1849, edited by Frederick J. Teggart, has been published by the University of California.

A Decade of American Government in the Philippines (pp. xiv, 66), by David P. Barrows, was prepared by the author as an additional chapter to the third edition (1914) of his *History of the Philippines*, first published in 1903. Its separate publication is to meet the desire for a brief historical review of the events of the last ten years. The author not only summarizes the political and administrative history of the period, but points out the principal economic and educational results of the American occupation.

A number of notable volumes in Canadian history have recently appeared. *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada*, by Sir Charles Tupper, announced some months ago, have been published in Toronto (Cassell), and the *Political Reminiscences of Sir Charles Tupper* have been brought out in London (Constable). Another important work is the *Life and Times of Sir George Etienne Cartier*, by John Boyd, which comes from the press of Macmillan (Toronto). Besides the *Life and Times of Lord Strathcona*, by W. T. R. Preston, quite recently from the press (London, Nash), and the life by Dr. John Macnaughton, announced by Morang and Company of Toronto, it is now understood that Cassell and Company will publish an authorized biography.

The *Annual Report* of the Ontario Historical Society for 1914 includes a record of the society's meeting, June 2-4, 1914, at Ottawa, and the reports of the numerous affiliated societies. The address of the retiring president, Mr. John Dearness, on the Sphere of the Historical

Societies, is given in full. One of the affiliated societies, the Brant Historical Society, of Brantford, it may be noted, will publish in four numbers the *Life of Brant and the History of the Six Nation Indians*.

Scribner's South American series now includes *Mexico: its Ancient and Modern Civilization, History, and Political Conditions, Topography and Natural Resources*, by C. Reginald Enoch, with an introduction by Martin Hume.

In the November issue of the *Boletín de Ingenieros* (Mexico) Professor Enrique E. Schultz continues his study "Los Orígenes del Régimen Constitucional en Hispano-América y los Albores de la Patria Mexicana".

Carranza and Mexico, by Carlo de Fornaro, with chapters by Col. I. C. Enriquez, Charles Ferguson, and M. C. Rolland, just issued by Kennerley, is understood to be written from the standpoint of the revolution.

The Spanish Dependencies in South America: an Introduction to the History of their Civilization, in two volumes, by Professor Bernard Moses, published in London by Smith, Elder, and Company, is brought out in this country by Harper and Brothers.

Simón Bolívar, Libertador de la América del Sur: por los más grandes Escritores Americanos (Madrid and Buenos Aires, Renacimiento, 1914, pp. xvi, 543) is a collection of studies of Bolívar's character and career, with some briefer appreciations, emanating from every American country. The contributions to the volume are from Juan Montalvo (Ecuador), F. García Calderón (Peru), P. M. Arcaya and R. Blanco-Fombona (Venezuela), L. Duarte Level (Mexico), A. Galindo, Francisco José Urrutia, Cornelio Hispano and Jorge Ricardo Vejarano (Colombia), Ernesto de la Cruz and B. Vicuña Mackenna (Chile), J. B. Alberdi (Argentina), José Martí (Cuba), J. E. Rodó (Uruguay), José Veríssimo (Brazil), and F. Loraine Petre. The last-named writer was presumed to represent the United States, and a chapter from his work, *Simón Bolívar: el Libertador*, translated by R. Blanco-Fombona, with critical notes, was inserted. Afterwards he was discovered to be an Englishman.

The sixteenth volume of the *Obras Completas* of Diego Barros Arana contains the *Historia de la Guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1881* (Santiago de Chile, 1914, pp. 535).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. L. Paxson, *The New American History* (Quarterly Review, January); R. W. Neeser, *The British Naval Operations in the West Indies, 1650-1700: a Study in Naval Administration* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, November-December); A. J. Morrison, *Lord Granville's Line* [in N. C.] (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); C. H. McCarthy, *Washington, his Allies, and his Friends* (Catholic University Bulletin, December); H. B. Learned, *Relations of the Legislature and the Executive* (Nation, February 11);

F. H. Hodder, "*Dough Faces*": the Occasion upon which John Randolph coined this Phrase and a Discussion of its Source and Meaning (*ibid.*, March 4); A. R. H. Ransom, *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, VI. (Sewanee Review, February); P. A. Bruce, *Plantation Memories of the Civil War* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); W. Hasbach, *Die Neuere Verfassungsentwicklung in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VII. 1); Admiral von Diederichs, *A Statement of Events in Manila, May-October, 1898*, translation (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, November); Emlin McClain, *Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on Constitutional Questions, 1911-1914* (American Political Science Review, February); G. W. Goethals, *The Building of the Panama Canal*, I. (Scribner's Magazine, March); É. Chartier, *Avant l'Insurrection de 1837-38: Lettres de C.-O. Perrault* (Revue Canadienne, January); H. von Ihering, *Das Alter des Menschen in Südamerika* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI. 2).

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

To the list of doctoral dissertations in progress, printed in our January number, the following might now be added (and see also p. 689, above, *ad med*).

- J. R. Knipfing, A.B. Cornell 1910. (Change of subject): the Roman State and Christianity, 138-337. *Columbia*.
- Raymond Moley, Ph.B. Baldwin 1906; A.M. Oberlin 1913. The Presidential Campaign of 1896. *Columbia*.
- R. W. Sockman, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan 1911; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Revival of Monasticism in England in the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.

By error, on page 502 in our last number, the title of Mr. Eric McCoy North's privately printed dissertation was wrongly stated; it is *Early Methodist Philanthropy*.